

GEORGE W. JULIAN

Indiana Historical Collections

Volume XI

Biographical Series

Volume I

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Indiana Biographical Series

Volume I

GEORGE W. JULIAN

By

Wm. C. Clarke Grace Julian Clarke

With an Introduction

By

William Dudley Foulke

Published by the

Indiana Historical Commission

Indianapolis

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“For this was all thy care—
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse.”

John Milton—*Paradise Lost*, Book VI

“All honor to Jefferson, to the man who in the concrete struggle for national independence by a single people had the coolness, forecast and capacity to introduce into a purely revolutionary document an abstract truth applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and depotism.”

Abraham Lincoln in letter to Henry L.
Pierce, April 6, 1859

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

With this volume the Indiana Historical Commission begins a new series of publications: "The Biographical Series of Noted Indianans." Biographical studies are always interesting, not alone because of their human flavor and personal appeal, but also because of their special value in explaining the *causes* for pursuing a certain line of action. And in a state like Indiana, long known as one of the 'pivotal states' in national political campaigns, and where political leadership counts for so much, biographical studies possess an interest beyond the ordinary.

The Indiana Historical Commission is glad to begin this new series of publications with the *Life of George W. Julian*, one of our state's really great men, written by his daughter, Grace Julian Clarke. A man of Julian's temperament, high ideals, and uncompromising attitude on questions of moral righteousness, requires the sympathetic pen of one who knew him as only a daughter could have known him properly to portray his career. However, in preparing this volume Mrs. Clarke has not permitted any personal bias or family pride to enter into her work. In fact she has in certain pages assumed the rôle of a critic in passing judgment upon some of her father's acts. But running through the entire volume is found that just and sympathetic interpretation

which characterizes a successful biographical study.

In preparing this biography Mrs. Clarke had access to the invaluable collection of Julian's letters, his Unpublished Autobiography, his personal "Journal", and a "Scrap-book" of newspaper clippings kept by Julian. Also she has drawn largely upon his volumes of *Speeches on Political Questions*, *Political Recollections*, and *Later Speeches*. Mrs. Clarke had the additional advantage of having been the intimate companion and secretary of her father during the last years of his life. It was during this period, one given over largely to sober reflection and reminiscences, that Julian gave expression to the views he had entertained on the great issues for which he had battled during his long and eventful life.

John W. Oliver, Director
Indiana Historical Commission

State House
Indianapolis, Ind.
April, 1923

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INTRODUCTION

By

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE

The leaders of great movements that change the face of the world are of two kinds, quite different in character but both absolutely necessary for the work; one is the pioneer, who originates these movements or espouses them in their earliest stages and propagates them through the community; the other is the political statesman, who takes them up later and modifies them so as to adapt them to existing conditions and embodies their results in institutions of government.

In the great struggle for the elimination of slavery Indiana has produced two such leaders, one of each kind, George W. Julian and Oliver P. Morton. They both came from Wayne County at the eastern edge of the State and they both attained their early development in the county seat, the little village of Centerville. They were essentially different, and were even antipathetic in their conduct and their modes of thought. They were likened to "two great lions that could not live in the same forest", but in spite of their differences the results they obtained in the development of the great principle that America should no longer be the home of slavery have been beyond calculation.

I wrote many years ago a biography of Oliver P. Morton; it is now my grateful task to write

these few lines of introduction to the biography of George W. Julian, a man whom I revered for his fearless espousal of the cause of human rights at a time when this involved calumny, obloquy and personal disaster, and a man whom I greatly loved in later years during the declining days of his life.

George W. Julian was essentially the pioneer; not merely that he was born in a pioneer's cabin in the early days of Indiana and lived during his youth and early manhood in a pioneer community sometimes as a rustic schoolmaster bringing to order the bullies of his school, then acting as rod-man in surveying the land for early public works, and afterwards as a lawyer in his rural town; but he was also a spiritual pioneer to that community itself as well as to the wider world, leading his fellow citizens along the pathways of liberal thought, of "truth against orthodoxy", and of political independence rather than blind party allegiance. He was one of the early protagonists for human rights, the right of women to equal suffrage, the right of the naturalized citizen as opposed to the bigotry of Know Nothingism, and most of all the right of the negro to his freedom.

Like a number of others who were leaders in this struggle for liberty, he came from an ancestry composite in its character—French, English, Scotch, Spanish and German—excellent ingredients for that best output of the melting pot, the genuine American. From the Huguenot René St.

Julien who left France on the occasion of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and fought under William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne, he received that spirit of resistance to oppression which characterized his life. This was united with the sturdiness of the German and tempered with the liberalism of his immediate Quaker progenitors. Such an inheritance, together with his surroundings in the early days when Indiana was a forest and the home of his widowed mother was exposed to the hostile incursions of the savages, was well calculated to produce the character, intrepid and uncompromising, of a devoted lover of liberty. And so it was. As soon as the evils of negro slavery were fully presented to him he was willing to renounce all, professional advantages, including a lucrative partnership and valuable clients, and to incur social ostracism, the opprobrium of the community in which he lived and afterwards (when he went to Congress) the bitter denunciation and contempt of the slave holding oligarchy in that body, in behalf of those human rights which he held fundamental and more essential to mankind than any law, creed or compromise which denied them.

I can feel thrilling through my own veins today that same indignant repudiation of time-serving concessions to expediency such as were demanded of those who resisted the domination of the slave power in the early fifties and are still demanded

for the support of party platforms and candidates at the hands of those who know that they are unworthy. Though I realize most fully that the advances of the world must be made through compromise and by the curtailment of high ideals in their application to practical necessities, yet I cannot withhold the highest honor from a man who maintained these ideals in the face of a world which repudiated them, who stood firm in what seemed to his contemporaries a hopeless cause but one which has been more than justified by the verdict of posterity. Such a man was George W. Julian. Not only Indiana, but America and all the world has been the better for his apostolate.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE

Richmond, Ind.

May, 1923

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While writing his illuminating biography of Fleeming Jenkin, Robert Louis Stevenson recorded in a private letter his pleasure in digging into the past of a dead friend and finding him "at every spade-full shine brighter". So it has been a peculiar satisfaction as I have studied the career of my father to see the picture of the man whose daily companion I was in his declining years, happily rounded out and filled in by a survey of his youth and active manhood. His character had not the complexities that sometimes puzzle the student; indeed it was so transparent that one could not be with him long or frequently without understanding its mainsprings. To be sure, I have been a little surprised at the severity of some of his earlier utterances; for a certain judicial quality, a tone of moderation and restraint, characterized his last years. But one must bear in mind the very different situations presented. It is said that every man has his block given him and that the figure he cuts must depend to a great extent on the shape of that, on the knots and twists that existed in it from the beginning. To a man of his nature there was no alternative in dealing with a great evil but to be "as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice".

He once said to me that but for the question of human slavery and his service in helping to bring

about its overthrow his life would not seem to have been worth while, a remark which shows that he only partially envisaged the situation. It is true that slavery was the transcendent abomination of his time, and in entering the lists against it and never wavering until its final extinction he displayed a singleness of purpose and a steadfastness to principle that were alike admirable and effective. But if there had been no slavery, and if no other great issue had challenged his attention (an almost impossible hypothesis) yet a personality so unique, so pleasing a combination of tenderness and belligerence, of mind and heart, of seriousness and mirth, a character so simple, straightforward and companionable withal, must have been its own sufficient excuse for being. But because he regarded his anti-slavery crusade as the vital and dominant fact of his career I have thought it wise to confine my narrative chiefly to this, only lightly touching on the more personal side.

The world is so full of books, and every angle of the struggle against slavery is so sure to be set forth, as well as every actor involved, that the deciding factor in venturing upon this brief chronicle is my conviction that it possesses another and compelling claim to attention, and a timeliness too, in the lesson it embodies of the duty of independent judgment, particularly in regard to public questions, of fidelity to principle even though one forfeit by such action fellowship greatly prized.

It is this attribute, so marked and dominant as to partake of the nature of a quality, or essential property, that gives to his career a unique importance.

Carlyle declares that history is connected biography. Certainly the history of Indiana would not be complete without some account of this anti-slavery Congressman, this political free-lance who played a conspicuous and influential part in a struggle that now seems almost as remote as our Revolutionary War, so foreign were its underlying motives from those that control society today.

Soon after removing to Irvington my father prepared an autobiography, not for publication (this he expressly stipulated) but as a memorial for his children. He declared that his life had been too uneventful and that his account of it abounded in too many details to interest the public. "And yet", he added, "I do not disguise the fact that it interests me profoundly. Notwithstanding its many ills I have clung to it as a priceless possession and crowded into it the sincerest endeavors to make it honorable and worthy. Whether regarded as the prelude to another and an endless existence or as the fleeting boon of a few short years, it is to me an unspeakably momentous fact. 'What has been the object of so much partiality' says a thoughtful writer, 'and has been delighted and pained by so many emotions, might claim, even if the highest interest

were out of the question, that a short memorial should be retained by him who has possessed it, has seen it all to this moment depart, and can never recall it'. In this spirit I have written, fully resolved that those who are to follow me shall not grope in the dark as to my character and work as I have been obliged to do respecting my own ancestry."

From this narrative, and from the *Journals* that were the basis for it I have drawn the chief facts of the story here presented, in some cases using his own words and expressions. I have also consulted his two volumes of *Speeches, Political Recollections, Life of Giddings* and many other volumes, besides old letter files dating as far back as 1836. I have made no effort to recover my father's letters addressed to others except in the case of Joshua R. Giddings.

Acknowledgments are gratefully made to the Hon. William Dudley Foulke of Richmond, Dr. James Albert Woodburn of Indiana University, and Prof. Harlow Lindley of Earlham College for encouragement and helpful suggestions. I am especially indebted to Dr. John W. Oliver, Director of the Indiana Historical Commission, for aid in verifying statements and references and for valued counsel.

G. J. C.

Irvington,
April, 1923



Birthplace of George W. Julian, one mile and a half southwest of Centerville, Indiana.

CHAPTER 1

Ancestry and Early Life

In the afternoon of May 5, 1817, a wayfarer journeying on horseback along a rough road that was scarcely more than a bridle-path, about a mile and a half southwest of Centerville, Wayne County, Indiana, halted before the cabin of Isaac Julian, pioneer justice of the peace, and was greeted by the latter with an invitation to come in and make the acquaintance of George Washington. Many years later the traveller in relating the incident told how on entering the two-story log house the admiring father held before him a lusty infant only a few hours old upon whom had already been bestowed the revered name of the Father of his Country. That it was a very young country is indicated by the fact that its father had been dead less than eighteen years, and Indiana, the sixth commonwealth to enter the original sisterhood of thirteen, had worn her Statehood honors not yet a twelvemonth. Jonathan Jennings, that redoubtable foe of slavery, who had taken the lead in preventing the legalization of the institution in Indiana,¹ was governor of the

1. For a discussion of Jonathan Jennings' stand against the extension of slavery into Indiana Territory, see Dunn's *Indiana and Indianans*, Vol. I, pp. 248-249, 304; Dunn's *Indiana*, pp. 389, 390, 409, 419; *Journal of Indiana House of Representatives*, First Session, pp. 10-11; a paper on *Jonathan Jennings*, by Governor Samuel M. Ralston, *Third History Conference Proceedings*, 1921, pp. 48, 49.

new State, which contained only about 65,000 people, most of them residing along the Ohio river, on the lower Wabash and in the Whitewater valley.

It was indeed a primitive society into which this child had been born. Wayne County, which until 1810 had been a part of Dearborn County, then marked the northern boundary of civilization in this state. Only five years before, the cabin of Isaac Julian had been used as a block-house or fort in which the settlers gathered for protection against the Indians, and with the exception of a few clearings the country was an unbroken wilderness, in which bears and other wild animals abounded. Wolves did much damage to livestock and the records show that for the year 1816 wolf claims in the county amounted to \$84.00, the bounty being one dollar for each scalp.² That men and women of gentle breeding and a degree of culture left comfortable homes farther east, establishing themselves and rearing families amid hardships and actual dangers that have never been adequately set forth, is eloquent testimony to the hardihood, patriotism and faith of the founders of these mid-western States. The fact that many of them, like the Julians, came hither in order to escape from the demoralizing influence of negro slavery only adds an element of moral principle to the situation.

George Washington Julian was an early prod-

2. Young's *History of Wayne County*, p. 83.

uct of the "melting-pot", for in his veins flowed French, Spanish, Scotch and English blood on his father's side, while his mother's contribution so far as known was entirely German. Two ancestors stand out in family annals with special vividness—a Frenchman and a German—and the impress of each was plainly distinguishable in the character under consideration. Curiously enough, both were soldiers by profession, and both emigrated to this country to escape from autocracy and oppression.

René St. Julien, the founder of this branch of the family in the United States, was a native of Paris and a Huguenot who left France on the occasion of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and went to Holland, attaching himself to the fortunes of William of Orange. He accompanied Prince William in his expedition to England in 1688 and for his services at the Battle of the Boyne two years later received from that monarch, now become King William III of England, "a grant of land beyond the Mississippi". St. Julien at this time was upwards of forty years of age, but although he had grown weary of soldiering, the spirit of adventure was still strong within him. In his various roving he had heard much of the New World, and the religious atmosphere of France continuing to be inhospitable to men of his views he determined to seek his distant land-grant. Accordingly, probably early in the decade beginning with 1690, he set sail for Amer-

ica, tarrying a year on the Island of Bermuda, where he married Margaret Bulloch, a lady half Spanish and half Scotch, reputed to have been possessed of wealth and beauty. On reaching this country and learning that the Mississippi was far in the wilderness the idea of immediate occupancy of the land-grant was abandoned; but René is said to have impressed upon his children that they were not to consider themselves permanently established until they reached the Mississippi. Of course all such claims were outlawed by the Revolutionary War. The St. Juliens first purchased an estate in Cecil County, Maryland, on the Chesapeake Bay, but later settled near Winchester, Va., and their descendants are scattered over many states, especially in the South. René St. Julien is reputed to have been a giant in stature, with red hair, a quick temper and an indomitable will. It is also said that he was a Presbyterian of the strictest sort, and that he particularly disliked Quakers because of their testimonies against war and slavery. Whether he or his children made the change in the name is not known, but it has ever since been spelled Julian or Julien.

The Isaac Julien referred to in Irving's *Life of Washington*³ as residing near Winchester at the time of Braddock's Defeat was a son of René who had married Barbara White, daughter of Dr. Robert White, a surgeon in the British navy, and Margaret Hoge White. Isaac and Barbara after-

3. Vol. I, Chap. XVIII, p. 216.

wards removed to Randolph County, North Carolina, where a son of theirs, likewise named Isaac, married Sarah Long, a Quakeress, whose grandfather, Edward Long, [spelled Langué in his will] had accompanied William Penn to America, probably on the occasion of the latter's second visit in 1699. Isaac and Sarah came to Indiana Territory in 1816, following their third son, the pioneer Justice of the Peace who had settled here in 1808, and hither too came nine of their family of twelve children.⁴ Isaac Julien the second, like his grandfather René, was a man of strong convictions, which he did not hesitate to make known, whether or not they coincided with the views of his associates. It is related that on one occasion, learning that the Friends at West Grove, Wayne County, had refused to allow some Dunkers to hold funeral services in their meeting-house, he saddled his mare, galloped to the scene; and after characterizing in fitting terms the proposed restriction, he boldly assured the Dunkers that the meeting-house was at their disposal. Although without authority in the matter (he was not a member of the meeting) such was the effect of his commanding appearance, made more impressive by his advanced age, and in so great respect was he held, that the Quakers immediately dispersed and the funeral took place. The physical strength of the Julians was some-

4. The names of these were: Bohan, Tobias, Isaac, Zeruah, Jacob, Elizabeth, René, Shubal, Sarah, Elinor, Martha and Barbara, the last two being twins.

times a neighborhood asset, a fact which might be illustrated by numerous stories that have taken their place in local tradition. They are also noted for their sense of justice, love of reading, and longevity.

The other ancestor whose name is held in particular honor by this branch of the Julian family was John Rudolph Waymire, a native of Hanover, who served under George II of Great Britain at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743 and subsequently joined the forces of Frederick the Great of Prussia, becoming one of that famous regiment composed of men of great height and physical prowess.⁵ No land-grant lured him hither, nor did religious persecution play any part in his coming. Tradition has it that Waymire, for distinguished services, had been made provisional governor of one of King Frederick's conquered provinces, in which capacity he was commanded to perform an act that did not coincide with his conscientious scruples. He accordingly refused, giving his reasons, whereupon he was clapped into prison for a month. This confinement afforded time for reflection on a number of subjects, and the erstwhile governor emerged from bonds with the determination to migrate to the American colonies of His Britannic Majesty, which he had heard offered a degree of freedom and opportunity unknown elsewhere. Information of this resolve

5. According to one story he was one of King Frederick's body-guard, no member of which was less than seven feet in height.

reaching King Frederick, the unruly subject was at once remanded to jail for a much longer period, to cure him of his roving fancy. When again at large, Waymire appeared docile and content. He was, however, only biding his time, and with the help of faithful friends he at length escaped from Prussia, landing in Philadelphia in the year 1750 with his wife and two children, his father and two sisters, his mother having died on the voyage, which consumed more than six weeks.

John Rudolph Waymire was the father of fifteen children, one of whom, Elizabeth, became the wife of Andrew Hoover, son of another German immigrant, likewise named Andrew, and a member of the Society of Friends, or Quakers.⁶ This young couple first established a home in Randolph County, North Carolina, coming later to Indiana Territory by way of Ohio and it was to their log cabin in Wayne County, on a bluff commanding a beautiful view of the Whitewater Valley that Isaac Julian (the third) went a-wooing in the year 1809, the object of his suit being their daughter Rebecca. George treasured the memory of this grandmother, Elizabeth Waymire, and in his latest years used to recall affectionately her blue eyes, sunny face, and the musical tones of her voice, as she called to him, "Kom, Georg, kom zu hausen." It is significant that the Hoovers, like the Julians, left the South because of slavery,

6. That Andrew Sr. wrote the name Huber appears from an old deed now in possession of his great-great-grandson, Andrew Hoover of Richmond, Ind.

that they too live to advanced age, and possess in an unusual degree the courage of their convictions. David Hoover, the oldest son of Andrew and Elizabeth, laid off the city of Richmond, now the Wayne county-seat, and gave it its name, he and his brother Henry being honorably conspicuous in the early politics of Wayne County.⁷

Rebecca Hoover's union with Isaac Julian was stoutly opposed by her father on the ground that the prospective bride-groom was not a "birthright Friend", that is, one whose parents were both members of that Society at the time of his birth. As a result the marriage took place at Elkhorn, south of Richmond, at the home of Richard Rue, a justice of the peace who had been one of General George Rogers Clark's soldiers and had lived for several years in captivity among the Indians. The strict but not implacable father soon forgave the young couple however, in token of which he presented them with a beautiful service of pewter "dresser ware", then much in vogue.

Isaac Julian, a man of scholarly tastes who appreciated the value of educational facilities in a new community, after assisting in clearing the land where Richmond now stands, taught the first school in the county during the winter of 1808-1809. He served as a private in the War of 1812 in Capt. Enos Butler's Company, eighth Regi-

7. Herbert Hoover, who gained world-wide renown for invaluable service during the World War of 1914-1918, is another descendant of the German immigrant, Andrew Hoover, Sr., his great grandfather having been a first cousin of David, Frederick, Henry and Rebecca.

ment, Indiana Militia, Col. George Hunt, Commander. He was commissioned a justice of the peace by both Governors Posey and Jennings, held the office of County Commissioner, and was one of the first trustees of the town of Centerville.⁸ In 1822 he was elected as a Whig to the Indiana Legislature, which met in Corydon, then the capital of the State.⁹

Soon after his return from this legislative session, having become pecuniarily involved by signing some notes for a friend on the eve of a financial panic, he sold his pleasant farm, paid off the notes, and removed to the New Purchase,¹⁰ selecting a site about eight miles from the present city of Lafayette, where prices were considerably lower than in the older settlements. First going alone on horseback to the chosen location, he erected a log house, and then returned to conduct thither his family. The journey was safely made by the father, mother and six children (one an infant of half a year) in a covered wagon;¹¹ but

8. Young's *History of Wayne County*, p. 183.

9. A part of his salary he invested in a set of silver teaspoons marked "R. J." which have descended to a great-granddaughter, a Rebecca of the present generation.

10. Secured from the Miami, Delaware and Pottawatamie Indians by treaties negotiated in October, 1818, Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass and Benjamin Parke being the purchasing agents for the State. It covered the central portion of Indiana and comprised about eight million acres.

11. The children of Isaac and Rebecca Hoover Julian were John M., b. 1811, d. 1834; Sarah, b. 1813, m. Jesse Holman (son of George Holman who with Richard Rue spent several years in captivity among the Indians), d. 1902; Jacob Burnet, b. 1815, m. Martha Bryan, practiced law in Centerville and Indianapolis, was judge of the Marion

the projector of the enterprise, who had had a fever before setting out, suffered a relapse and died soon after their arrival, on December 12, 1823, in the cabin that was to have been their home, his age being forty-three years. His remains were placed in a rude coffin, hewn out of an oak, and buried on the bluff near by, the spot being afterwards marked by a headstone and an iron fence. With the kind assistance of a neighbor on the Wea plain, Abel Janney, Rebecca Julian and her children were enabled to return to Wayne County. This Good Samaritan, a total stranger up to that time, conducted the bereaved family through the unbroken wilderness, himself going alongside on his own horse. Many interesting tales in which friendly Indians and wild animals figure, date back to this expedition, which was attended with much suffering and hardship. Upon their arrival the widow and children were received with open arms by her brother Henry Hoover, whose hospitality they were glad to accept for the winter, and Abel Janney, declining all compensation for his services, left immediately on his return journey. They never saw him again. The knight-errantry of pioneer days has never been adequately celebrated, but from sundry side-lights such as this we recognize that

Circuit Court, d. 1898; George Washington, b. 1817, d. 1899; Elizabeth, b. 1819, m. first Allison Willetts, second Andrew Beaty, d. 1889; Henry, b. 1821, d. 1823; and Isaac Hoover, b. 1823, m. Virginia Spillard, edited newspapers in Centerville and Richmond, Ind., and San Marcos, Tex., d. 1910.

although it lacked the pomp and circumstance of chivalry's earlier and more renowned exploits, it was not less admirable.

Rebecca Julian had saved one hundred and sixty-five dollars from the general wreck of her fortunes, with which a farm of fifty acres, three and one-half miles northwest of Centerville was purchased, where the battle of life proceeded. In order to pay for her children's schooling, she did the washing and mending for the school-master, besides weaving and spinning for those who needed her services. The older children were employed by neighboring farmers, while the younger ones supplemented their mother's labors in the care of their own farm. Their fare was substantial, consisting almost entirely of corn-bread and milk. When milk failed, birch-bark or spice-brush tea was substituted, and on Sundays they indulged in the luxury of coffee and warm biscuits, to which were added maple molasses and chicken when they had a guest. They raised every year the flax which was spun and woven into linen for summer wear, a surplus being exchanged for "calico and other finery" for the girls, while their sheep supplied wool for winter garments. Sometimes on rainy days, after the necessary chores were attended to, the boys occupied themselves in making their own straw hats, which were not marked by a dull uniformity, but frequently expressed individual taste and superior deftness.

In the evening, while the mother and daughters

were spinning, John used to entertain the family by reading aloud "*The Brownie of Bodsbeck*", the poetry of Robert Burns, the speeches of Henry Clay and other public men, and by telling stories of ghosts and fairies. This oldest brother, who was destined to drop out of life at the age of twenty-three, exercised a lasting influence not only on the younger members of his own family, but throughout the settlement, and fifty years after his death aged men and women recalled with glowing faces his words and deeds. A school teacher at the age of sixteen, and his mother's special pride and hope, he was also a leader and exemplar in the little community, and George's first lessons in democracy came from hearing John read from Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, while his abhorrence of negro slavery was early awakened by listening to Garrison's *Liberator* and the poetry of Cowper as set forth by this enthusiastic young advocate. Their mother read to them regularly from the Bible, never omitting an opportunity to impress lessons of truthfulness, obedience and thrift, and to inspire them with worthy ambition.¹²

Rebecca Hoover Julian was a typical pioneer mother, facing the privations and responsibilities of life with courage and cheer. Her earnest face framed in its Quaker cap, looked out upon a world where a multitude of tasks waited to be performed, and a vigorous physical equipment ena-

12. Julian's unpublished *Autobiography*.

bled her to do her full share. Writing many years later with characteristic frankness and simplicity of those early days she said:

“The country around us was an entire wilderness, with here and there a small cabin containing a small family. We were nearly all beginners at that time, and although we had to work almost day and night we were not discouraged.

“We were in fine spirits until the battle was fought at Tippecanoe by General Harrison and the Indians. After that, we lived in continual fear and passed many sleepless nights. Well do I recollect how I kept my head raised off my pillow in listening, expecting the savages to come and take our scalps. We had every reason to believe that such would be the case, as they were frequently to be seen scouting all around us. At length the time arrived when two men were stationed at our fort for our protection. My husband also enlisted and served three months as a soldier, but was not called out from the fort. We were truly thankful that there was no fighting to be done, as we were then few in number and completely in the power of the enemy. But it is evident they intended harming only such persons as they thought hostile to them. A young man by the name of Shortridge was killed by the Indians about three miles from our fort. He had on at the time a portion of the dress of another man, who had made threats against them, and it is supposed they mistook him for the latter. In

the spring following Charles Morgan and his two half-brothers were killed at their sugar camp, scalped, and one of them thrown into the fire. This happened about six miles from our residence. This was quite alarming; we knew not what to do; we gathered ourselves in small groups in order to hold counsel. Finally we concluded to leave our homes; which we did time after time for a space of two years. We were grateful indeed to see peace returning, so that we could again enjoy our homes.

“There were many and serious trials in the beginning of this country with those who settled amid the heavy timber, having nothing to depend on for a living but their own industry. Such was our situation. However, we were blessed with health and strength, and were able to accomplish all that was necessary to be done. Our husbands cleared the ground and assisted each other in rolling the logs. We often went with them on these occasions to assist in the way of cooking for the hands. We had first-rate times, just such as hard-working men and women can appreciate. We were not what would now be called fashionable cooks: we had no pound-cakes, preserves or jellies, but the substantials, prepared in plain, honest, oldfashioned style. This is one reason why we were so blessed with health—we had none of your dainties, nick-nacks, and many fixings that are worse than nothing. There are many diseases that we never heard of thirty or forty

years ago, such as dyspepsia, neuralgia, and many others too tedious to mention. It was not *fashionable* at that time to be weakly. We could take our spinningwheels and walk two miles to a spinning frolic, do our day's work, and after a first-rate supper join in some innocent amusement for the evening. We did not take very particular pains to keep our hands white: we knew they were made to use to our advantage; therefore we never thought of having hands just to look at. Each settler had to go and assist his neighbors ten or fifteen days or thereabouts, in order to get help again in log-rolling time—this was the only way to get assistance.

“I have thought proper to mention these matters in order that people now may know what the first settlers had to undergo. We however did not complain half as much as people do now. Our diet was plain, our clothing we manufactured ourselves; we lived independent and were all on an equality. I look back to those by-gone days with great interest. Now how the scene has changed! Children of these same pioneers know nothing of hardships; they are spoiled by indulgence and are generally planning ways and means to live without work.”¹³

George, at the age of seven or eight, happened to be a witness to a proposal of marriage received by his mother, who was only thirty-three at the

13. Letter of Rebecca Julian in *Wayne County Journal*, a newspaper published at Centerville by Hosea Elliott in 1854, reproduced in *Young's History of Wayne County*, p. 66.

time of her husband's death, and the impression of her dignified bearing and the seriousness of her face as she emphasized her refusal by referring to the care of her children as the ruling purpose of her life, fixed itself indelibly in his memory and deepened his almost reverential love for her.

It was George's custom to gather every year quantities of walnuts (as many as fifteen bushels one fall) the hulls of which were sold at Nathan Bond's carding and fulling mill at six cents per bushel, the money being used to buy books and stationery. He was the marketman of the family, making regular trips to Centerville with butter, eggs, chickens, etc. to be exchanged for dry goods. He used to recount to his children how on these expeditions he carried his shoes tied together and swung over his shoulder "to save them", stopping beside the roadway to put them on just before he entered town, in order to make a creditable appearance, and how he used to roll up his trousers while at work, as high as he possibly could, for the purpose of keeping them clean, letting them down only when he went to the village or on some unusual occasion; also, how he went "a-swimming" seventeen times in one day, which feat was followed by a protracted attack of ague. That boy nature is much the same in all generations is shown by the fact that at the age of eight he fell into the popular vice of stealing water-melons, which he declared was not his only sin-

ful accomplishment, for, finding one day a bottle of whiskey in the fence corner where Humphrey Lloyd, an old toper, was mowing, he helped himself so liberally that as he was approaching home he found the earth hitting him in the face and his mother gazing at him with mingled amazement and concern. He became fearfully sick, and was never afterwards intoxicated. His most marked characteristic until he was nearly grown was an ungovernable and painful bashfulness, which prompted him to run like a deer if any visitor attempted to talk with him. A look would set him in motion. Of course this natural timidity was largely outgrown, and in later life was somewhat counterbalanced by other qualities; but it was never conquered, and he declared that it was not only a source of anxiety and suffering, but an ugly stumbling block in the path of his ambition.

Physical development was not neglected in the pioneer community, and George was a master of swimming, hopping, running, jumping and climbing trees while his only successful rival in a footrace was one Jehu Martin. At the age of sixteen he had reached the height of six feet and two inches, and could lift a blacksmith's anvil with one hand and toss it out of the shop. He used also to hold his own at one end of a handspike in a "solid lift" with David Beeson, the strongest man in that section of the country. His zeal sometimes outran his discretion, for in a lifting match

with his cousin Caleb Kinley he received an injury which disabled him for many weeks and caused a limp from which he never recovered. He was fond of dogs and horses, and after the lapse of seventy years recalled the names and characteristics of those he had owned in early life.

Entering school at the age of five years, his text-book was a copy of Barclay's *Apology*; it being the custom in backwoods regions to equip the child just beginning the pursuit of knowledge with a volume selected, often at random, from the family shelves, and Isaac Julian's library was made up entirely of serious books. It was an old-fashioned district school continuing three months of the year at most, and the walk to and from was a long one for the very young. One day in crossing a swollen stream on a foot-log George was so unfortunate as to drop the *Apology*, and as the current rapidly bore it away his agony was such that he carried a vivid recollection of it into old age, and he said that his howls must have been heard for miles. Fortunately, his brother Jacob was able, by swift measures, to rescue the treasure, to the great delight of all concerned. Books were rare and precious in that primitive society, and he never ceased to regard them with a consideration bordering on reverence.

Few teachers in the middle west in those days could take their scholars beyond the 'Single Rule of Three,' and Julian's account of his efforts to master Pike's *Arithmetic* was both amusing and

pathetic. His absorption in study became so intense that for a considerable period he denied himself all sports and gave his entire time, after work, to books, with a twofold result: he became a recognized neighborhood authority in English grammar and spelling, and his eyes were seriously affected. The Bible was read through again and again, and the dictionary was studied with indefatigable zeal, words and their formation possessing for him a fascination that was never outgrown. Referring in later years to his unyielding spirit, once he had decided on a course of action, he related an incident that occurred while he was attending the school of Andrew Nicholson.¹⁴ Webster was the new authority in spelling, and Nicholson duly followed his lead in omitting the "k" in such words as 'mimic,' 'fabric' and the like. George had been brought up on Walker, the generally recognized standard, and he declined to abandon the "k". Nicholson insisted on his complying with the rule, but he stoutly refused, finally having his way in the face of the school and to the peril of its discipline. Several years afterwards, when he had himself become a teacher, he wrote Mr. Nicholson a letter acknowledging his fault and asking pardon, to which the latter responded in the kindest terms. The matter did not end there, however, for when Julian first became a candidate for Congress his rebellious

14. A well-known schoolmaster of eastern Indiana esteemed for his personal virtues no less than for his scholastic attainments, who lived almost a century, retaining his faculties to the last.

espousal of the letter "k" was alleged as a reason why he should not be elected, whereupon his old teacher came promptly to the rescue, stating the facts and ridiculing the desperation of the opposition.

It is perhaps worthy of note that from early childhood the society of girls appealed to him rather more than that of boys and that in whatever differences and squabbles arose he always constituted himself their defender. Fond of physical sports as he was, and skilled in outdoor games and accomplishments, there was also a pronounced gentleness about him and a fondness for the quiet of the fireside and the conversation of thoughtful elderly folk. One of the joys of his young life was to lie on the floor and listen to the conversation of his mother and certain of her neighbors, particularly Mrs. Martha Sackett, the intelligent and capable wife of David F. Sackett, for many years clerk of the county. These two women discussed local affairs, religion, politics, books, the fashions, schools and their children's progress, all in a manner that held him spell-bound, and at sight of Mother Sackett entering the door-yard, he invariably cut short the task in which he was engaged to avail himself of the entertainment he knew to be forthcoming.

At that time there yet lingered a number of Revolutionary soldiers, venerable men who excited his enthusiastic admiration and whose words he eagerly drank in at Fourth of July cele-

brations where they sat in the front row on the platform. The winter preceding his tenth birthday was spent at the home of his paternal grandparents, with whom he was a favorite and who because of advanced years needed attentions such as a sprightly and willing lad could render. He attended school and assisted his grandmother (the Quaker Sarah Long) with the household tasks, regularly accompanying her to meeting, where he sat beside her in the gallery and was duly impressed by the stillness which commonly characterized the occasion.

Julian once declared that in the rude pioneer community in which he was born and reared, religion appeared to be the chief and all absorbing concern, its most popular form being "a volcanic sort of Methodism manifesting itself not so much in a struggle for heaven as in a scuffle to escape hell." His own family connections were with the Hicksite Friends, but the Methodist revivals and camp meetings appealed to his dramatic sense and were regarded by him rather as spectacles than as spiritual awakeners. He was much interested also in "the occasional irruption into the neighborhood of an old Universalist preacher, then well known in eastern Indiana and soundly hated by all orthodox people." This was Jonathan Kidwell, who, although he had had little if any schooling even of the primitive variety then and there attainable, was a vigorous thinker, prone to controversy, and

gifted in the use of invective. There were also several Free Thinkers, or "Infidels" as they were called, one of whom, Louis Hosier, an aged and eccentric farmer of rugged honesty and common sense, used frequently to ask the fifteen year old boy to read aloud to him from such works as Volney's *Ruins*, Frances Wright's *Lectures*, Hume's *Essays*, etc. No one seems to have become alarmed at the spectacle of a boy at this impressionable age falling under the influence of teachings so dangerous in the eyes of the great majority of the people by whom he was surrounded. It is probable that his mother was aware of the readings, but if she knew the character of the books she doubtless consoled herself with the assurance that he would safely weather the storm guided by that "inner light" in which her own reliance lay. He was certainly learning to use his reasoning powers, and this period marked the beginning of a course of wide and varied investigation of theological subjects extending over many years.¹⁵

15. An article in *The Unitarian Review* for January, 1888, entitled "A Search After Truth," gives an interesting account of his religious wanderings, the initial steps in which were taken at this time.

CHAPTER II

First Flights—Begins Practice of Law—Marriage—Elected to Legislature

The question of a vocation was the occasion of much concern and was not settled hastily nor without serious misgivings. Three possible courses presented themselves. Farming was the most logical and popular means of livelihood in the pioneer community, but Julian seems to have had no special bias in this direction. His father and his brother John had both been teachers, and his own love of study was a further inducement to enter upon a profession which promised both personal satisfaction and the fulfillment of a community need. Civil engineering offered an alluring prospect at that time, when canals, pikes and railroads were being projected all over Indiana and people were completely psychologized by the State's brilliant future.¹ During his last two periods at school, under the tutelage of the Quaker, James Osborn,² at West Grove and later of

1. Noah Noble was then Governor, his administration being especially notable for the beginning of the Wabash and Erie Canal, the construction of the Michigan Road and the issuing of several railway charters. Some one has said that canals (on paper) led from every man's doorway in every direction.

2. Son of the famous Quaker preacher, Charles Osborn, who published at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, an anti-slavery paper and was the first person who publicly advocated immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves in this country. Article by George W. Julian on "The Rank of Charles Osborn as an Anti-slavery Pioneer" in the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 233.

Samuel K. Hoshour,³ a well known educator and preacher of the Disciples denomination, in Centerville, he had studied algebra, plane trigonometry and surveying, and in the summer of 1835, having procured a quadrant, he frequently astonished the inhabitants by determining the height of a tree, or the distance to an object without actual measurement. Many refused to believe that this could be done, and were only convinced by their own repeated verifications of the young surveyor's calculations.

In September of this year he performed his first public service, five days' labor with a spade on the National Road. His remuneration amounted to four dollars and twenty cents, the largest sum he had ever possessed, which he straightway invested in books, mathematical works which he boldly tackled and to which he persistently clung until he had mastered their intricacies.

He was then eighteen years of age, and entered upon the profession of teaching in what was called "the Harvey district," two miles west of his home. The most noteworthy incident of this experience occurred in connection with the annual Christmas treat. It was an early custom, not confined to Indiana, for the schoolmaster to pro-

3. Born in Pennsylvania in 1803. In 1837 he was conducting a book store in Centerville, Ind., at the same time teaching languages and mathematics in the County Seminary, editing the *Wayne County Chronicle*, preaching "every Lord's Day" and writing the great part of his *Altissonant Letters*. *Autobiography* of Samuel K. Hoshour.

vide apples and cider in abundance on Christmas day, and the occasion was not infrequently marked by rowdyism. The year before, the teacher at the Harvey school, an aged man of infirm health who had declined to treat, had been carried out astride of a rail and ducked repeatedly in the icy water of a stream near by. The story of the old man's piteous pleas for mercy and of the ruffianly conduct of the big boys who finally obliged him to order the refreshments was told throughout the neighborhood, and it is more than likely had something to do with Julian's determination to undertake that particular school. At any rate, he gave due notice that there would be no treating during his administration. The young schoolmaster had a mighty frame, together with a reputation for physical accomplishments; but some of his scholars were fully as large and powerfully built. As the day approached two rival parties developed, one determined to stand by the teacher and the other bent on forcing his surrender. The people for miles around became interested, taking one side or the other, and congregating at the school house early on Christmas morning to witness or share in the conflict. It was soon manifest that the majority was with the teacher, and so, after giving vent to the accumulated excitement in a spirited spelling-match, a form of entertainment much and properly esteemed at that time, the crowd quietly dispersed and there was no more treating in the Harvey

school. The compensation was forty dollars for three months' service, a princely sum in his eyes; but having decided to discard the blue jeans of his mother's manufacture which up to this time had seemed altogether satisfactory, a considerable part of the money was spent in outfitting himself after the mode then prevailing among the well-to-do.

The next summer he worked as rodman on the Whitewater Canal, at sixteen dollars per month, he and a Mr. Pritchard measuring every foot of the route between Hagerstown and Lawrenceburg. His employer was an old friend of his father's, General Elisha Long, one of the State's Canal Commissioners, with whom he presently had a disagreement which led to his abandoning the undertaking and returning home on foot, in no very amiable state of mind. In view of the subsequent collapse of the system of canal improvements it was probably fortunate that events took the course indicated, but in giving up the work he liked and which offered far better financial returns than anything then in sight, rather than submit to what he regarded as an injustice, he illustrated a trait that often bore fruit in later life.

Resuming teaching in the fall and winter, first near his home and later in Milton, he followed the advice of Dr. Jacob Abbott whose book on *Pedagogy* he had just read in essaying the policy of government without the rod. The innovation met

with marked success in the former school, but in Milton the boys gave "such strong proof of innate depravity" that he reluctantly abandoned "the rose-water, Jacob Abbott policy," and more than once spoke with regret of the severity with which he flogged several of his Milton scholars.⁴

The time not devoted to teaching was spent at home, where he helped with the farming, he and his brother Isaac reading together, and also memorizing a great deal of poetry. The list of books thus enjoyed included the histories of Gibbon, Hume and Goldsmith, *Plutarch's Lives*, the English poets, Locke's *Essays*, Abercrombie on *The Intellectual Powers*, Watts on *The Mind*, Combe's *Constitution of Man*, Dr. Spurzheim's works on *Phrenology and Education*, Paine's political works, Godwin's *Political Justice*, Sterne's and Fielding's novels, *Don Quixote*, Ossian's Poems, etc. He also continued the study of mathematics and took up rhetoric and astronomy. All this sounds as if life were an arduous business, but it doubtless seemed quite the reverse to the eager young seeker after knowledge to whom every day opened up new and alluring vistas.

After two years of alternate teaching and farm work, Julian set out on April 1, 1839 in company with some Wayne County friends on a visit to eastern Iowa where several of their former neigh-

4. "I lost my temper and was in the wrong; and I now see that I ought to have sought them out in later years and offered them any reparation or atonement in my power." Unpublished *Autobiography*.

bors had recently settled. The journey was chiefly by stage and afforded an opportunity to cogitate about the future as well as see the country. Teaching was not exactly to his liking: perhaps he would find employment as a surveyor, or else purchase land in "the west" (his savings, which he carried with him, were sufficient for this) and settle down as a farmer after all. His course was by no means clear before him, and grew steadily less so during the weeks spent in New Madison, Burlington, and other Iowa towns. He therefore decided to go up the Mississippi River to Mercer County, Illinois, where Dr. Thomas Willetts whom he had known intimately in Milton, Wayne County, resided. It was during his stay under this hospitable roof that his anxiety as to a career reached an acute stage, and after much mental wrestling, during which Carlyle's maxim, "Know what thou canst do," seemed to mock his indecision and helplessness, he decided to lay his case before Dr. Willetts. There had all along been moments when he seemed to feel an indefinable consciousness of power, when like John Foster he had "a painful sense of an awkward but entire individuality," but these were invariably followed by a deadening unbelief in himself, which was at once his prevailing mood and worst enemy. Dr. Willetts listened sympathetically, and without a moment's hesitation advised him to study law. This was a totally new idea, as surprising as it was flattering, for he had not supposed that any person could

entertain so favorable an opinion of his capacity.⁵ Dr. Willetts went on to say that the only drawback was self-distrust, which he could overcome if he would, and urged him to take up the new study at once. Accordingly a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries* was procured, which he read while he taught a term of school near New Boston, having his first love affair at the same time. The object of his affection was an English girl, Rachel Crapnel, who seemed to him an angel of light and loveliness and to whom he would have proposed marriage but for the fact that he lacked the necessary courage. He kept his legal study a secret from all but one or two friends, and blushed at the sheet on which he wrote to his brother Isaac that he was reading Blackstone, informing him that he had no idea of being a lawyer, but that he thought it would be as useful to him as any other general reading.

Another incident of his sojourn in Illinois is interesting in the light of present medical practice. Dr. Willetts was one of the leading physicians of what was called "the western country" and a man whose personality and attainments commanded the respect and confidence of all who knew him. Moreover he took a genuine interest in young men, many of whom looked up to him as counsellor and guide. Having seen Julian embarked on the study of law, the Doctor next ad-

5. Great dignity and prestige attached to the so-called 'learned professions', the lawyer, the doctor and the clergyman being regarded as in a manner set off from the rest of the community.

vised bleeding, although no physical malady was in evidence, but inasmuch as he tipped the scales at two hundred and twenty-five pounds, there was evidently an excess of blood. Leeches were accordingly applied, and the young student was relieved of two quarts of good red blood, the result being an exceeding weakness accompanied by a happy consciousness of having thus warded off serious trouble.

On his return to Indiana, whither home-sickness drove him the following spring, he again taught school while continuing the reading of law under the guidance of his cousin, John S. Newman, a leading member of the Centerville bar, and was duly licensed to practice in October, 1840, at the age of twenty-three years. He had an honorable ambition socially and in a business way, and was striving manfully to overcome the bashfulness that hindered him by taking part in the meetings of the Rustic Club at the district school near his home, and of the Centerville Scientific and Literary Association, seizing also every opportunity to listen to and converse with the notable men of the village in whose presence he did his best to feel at home.

This year likewise marked his first appearance as a contributor to the press, two articles of his being printed in *The Philomath Encyclopedia*, a nondescript monthly edited by the Rev. Jonathan Kidwell, the Universalist preacher referred to in the preceding chapter.⁶ One of these was a de-

6. Ante, p. 41.

fence of Thomas Paine against a savage attack by the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and the other was entitled "Truth Against Orthodoxy." These were followed by three other articles in the succeeding year, the subjects being "Skepticism and Infidelity," "Causes of Skepticism and Irreligion" and "Methodist Sermons," which he afterwards declared possessed little value beyond the mental training they afforded, but which plainly showed his taste for religious thinking and the same independent spirit that was later to manifest itself in politics.

His radical and destructive theological reading, however, presently became wearisome and unsatisfactory, and so, on the advice of Prof. Hoshour, who continued to be a valued mentor, he entered upon a very different course. He now began to read such books as Watson's *Apology For the Bible*, Simpson's *Plea For Religion*, Nelson on *Infidelity*, Faber on *Infidelity*, Leslie's *Short Method With the Deists*, and Butler's *Analogy*, the very names of which suggest a period remote and archaic, while they show what ponderous topics were sometimes included in the curriculum of a Hoosier youth of the last century.

In his first chapter of *Political Recollections* Julian has given an account of his experience in the Harrison campaign of 1840, when he called himself a Whig, not because he had any real knowledge of politics but because his father had belonged to that party and because he remembered his brother John's admiration for Henry

Clay. He naïvely declares too that he was “not the only political lunatic who enlisted in the hard cider campaign,” which he fitly characterizes as a great national frolic rather than a struggle in behalf of reform and into the spirit of which he threw himself with all the ardor of his twenty-three years. In company with a number of jolly fellows he rode one hundred and fifty miles on horseback through the mud to the great meeting at Tippecanoe Battleground on May 29th and 30th, where they slept on the ground two nights, drank a considerable quantity of hard cider and had a rollicking good time. He also visited his father’s grave⁷ and the cabin in which he died, noting with interest how few changes had taken place in the neighborhood. On September 10th, he was one of another horse company which attended the mass meeting at Dayton, Ohio, where he heard Gen. Harrison speak, and it was while listening to this first great man he had ever beheld, with an awe such as he said he never afterwards felt for any mortal, that he had the misfortune to be relieved of his pocketbook.

In November, 1840, he entered upon the practice of law, first in Newcastle for six months, teaching in the County Seminary there “as a sort of flank movement,” (for he distrusted his ability at the bar) and later in Greenfield, Hancock County, for two years. It was in the latter

7. On what is now known as the Gay farm, about ten miles west and two miles south of LaFayette. The fence and headstone are still (1923) in a good state of preservation.

town that he organized "*The Dark Lyceum*," a debating society whose proceedings were always conducted with lights out, and which had but two members, a young lawyer named George Pattison and himself.⁸ The only officer was a Premier, whose duty it was to preside, preserve order, and decide disputed questions, the members occupying this position by turns. His friendship with Pattison, who read law with him, was one of those fortunate relationships that mold character and sweeten life. They were almost constantly together, basking before the fire at Nick Pumphrey's tavern, rambling through the woods, or untangling legal puzzles in the office. All sorts of questions were debated in the Dark Lyceum, and so valuable did Julian consider the discipline thus afforded that on returning to Centerville he revived the institution under the name of "*The Dark Lyceum of Centerville*." The following account of this locally famous organization was given by him many years later and throws light on the simple yet earnest life of the period:

"Soon after my settlement here (Centerville) I gathered about me from the young men of the town a few congenial and attached friends who joined me in organizing '*The Dark Lyceum of Centerville*.' They were N. C. McCullough, D. W. Reed, and C. J. Woods. Desiring to consult the ornamental as well as the useful in this enterprise, we created three offices in addition to that

8. Pattison later moved to Carroll County, Missouri, where he served for many years as judge of the Probate Court.

of Premier, namely, Prelate, Inductor and Sponsor, the duties of which were particularly defined. The origin of our secret order, as we now styled it, was traced back to Demosthenes, who made it the instrument of his wonderful triumphs in oratory; and its history was solemnly set forth by the Premier on the initiation of a candidate. We allowed the public to know enough of our proceedings to excite curiosity, while the exclusiveness of the body awakened some opposition and jealousy among outsiders. Prompted by the love of fun with which we sought to spice our proceedings, I composed the following hymn which was always sung at the opening of the meetings, to the tune of *Bruce's Address*: [The first of the five stanzas is sufficient to show the quality of this composition.]

Here choice and kindred spirits meet
To mingle in communion sweet,
Here truth and friendship guide our feet,
And cheer us on our way.

“But it must not be supposed that the Lyceum gave itself up to mere sport and trifles. Its controlling purpose was intellectual improvement, and the discussions were earnest, always creditable and sometimes able. From time to time the membership was increased by the admission of Thomas Dill, J. E. Burbank, R. N. Hudson, J. P. Siddall, O. P. Morton and others, and I feel sure that every surviving member would acknowledge his indebtedness to it for valuable training and

real improvement in the art of public speaking. Through varying fortunes and subject to some interruptions, the organization continued its work until early in the year 1848, when it was dissolved by radical differences of opinion among its members respecting the slavery question, which had found its way to the front as a subject of debate.”⁹

While residing in Greenfield, Julian after an examination, was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the State. The Judges at that time were Isaac Blackford, Charles Dewey and Jeremiah Sullivan, all men of commanding figure, whose appearance as they strode into the courtroom created quite as much terror among the ten aspirants as did the forty formidable written questions which they propounded. There was little society in Greenfield at that time that interested him, but he was doing a fairly good business and would probably have made it his permanent home but for the conduct of one Thomas J. Walpole, the leading lawyer of the town, who on his return from serving a term as State Senator seems studiously and unremittingly to have persecuted the young attorney whose sole offense was that he was prospering and, inferentially, poaching on Walpole's domain. Julian defended himself, but the ugly warfare presently disgusted him and he decided to accept his brother Jacob's offer of a partnership in Centerville in May, 1843.

9. Unpublished *Autobiography*.

This village, the second capital of Wayne County¹⁰ was then in its hey-day, and perhaps a more favorable location for an aspiring young barrister could not have been found in the State. The leading lawyers were James Rariden, John S. Newman, (both afterwards members of the Constitutional Convention of 1851) Charles S. Test and Martin M. Ray, all men of ability, and litigation was plentiful. The town was prosperous in a business way. There was an excellent county Seminary, a literary society brought noted lecturers in the winter, there were several churches, well attended, the Temperance reform had begun to forge to the front, and an exceptionally interesting society of young men and women added much to the cultural tone of the community.¹¹ As the junior partner in the firm of 'Julian and Julian,' George's chief employment at first was in probate business and the trial of cases before justices of the peace. Jacob liked chancery cases, for which his younger brother had no taste, the

10. The first seat of justice of Wayne County was Salisbury, a little east and south of Centerville. This was from 1811 to 1816. Then for thirty-six years Centerville was the county-seat, the finally successful effort to remove it to Richmond occasioning one of the fiercest county-seat contests known in Indiana history.

11. A quaint reminder of the social activities of Centerville in 1843 is a neatly printed invitation in which "the company of Mr. Alexander Finch (afterwards the brother-in-law of Mr. Julian) is respectfully requested at a Social Party to be given at the Mansion House in Centerville on Monday Evening, [December] 25th instant, at Four O'clock". The names appended as "managers" in addition to Mr. Julian are J. G. Talbott, C. N. Elmer, L. Noble, J. Jemison, C. J. Woods, E. J. Bonine, J. H. William, J. E. Burbank and I. A. Hannah, *Julian Collection*.

latter decidedly preferring actions, either civil or criminal, in which a jury was demanded. The first of these in which he took part after his return to Centerville was an action of slander brought by Collins S. Stevens against James Jones, an old Irishman who had not sufficiently bridled his tongue and who was familiarly styled "Jemmy Jones." "I was for the plaintiff," said Julian, "and was obliged to make the opening speech, and I well remember what I suffered from the dread of doing this in the presence of the old lawyers and the curious crowd of acquaintances who had come to hear me. But I succeeded surprisingly to myself and I believe to everybody else, and when I sat down, John Finley,¹² our well known Hoosier poet, then clerk of the court, handed me the following:

"Your maiden speech I call O. K.,
And so the jury thought it;
Their countenances seemed to say
'Old Jemmy Jones has caught it.'"¹³

This was not literally his first speech in court, for he had tried cases both in Greenfield and Newcastle. The latter village was the scene of his earliest venture in this line, the action being before Green T. Simpson, a country Justice of the

12. John Finley, author of *The Hoosier's Nest*, born in Brownsville, Rockingham County Virginia, Jan. 11, 1797, and died in Richmond, Indiana, December 23, 1866. Among other poems which he wrote are "The Clock," "Advertisement for a Wife," and "The Last of the Family".

13. Unpublished *Autobiography*.

Peace, with N. W. Miner of Dublin as the opposing counsel. Both the lawyers were panic stricken, and the recollection of the affair caused considerable amusement in later life. "The justice was a good-natured old farmer," said Julian, "who knew less law than either of us, and whose judgment of our rhetoric was quite indifferent. The amount involved was only a few dollars, and in no event could there be the least danger of any serious consequences to body or soul. And yet, in opening the case and making our speeches we were almost convulsed with excitement. I remember trying to keep cool and hating myself for being so affected, but there was no remedy for my affliction."¹⁴

He was the orator of the occasion at an all-day celebration of the Fourth of July following, his speech being described as "a most happy effort".¹⁵

Julian's first political speech was delivered before the Clay Club in the Centerville Court House early in the campaign of 1844 and was followed by numerous calls to speak in other parts of the county. Although he had as yet given little serious thought to the questions that then divided the parties, his legal studies and social affiliations had tended to keep him in alliance with the Whigs. His faith in the theory of protection, however, had been greatly weakened by reading Say's *Political Economy*, while the land policy of the Whigs ap-

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Wayne County Record*, July 10, 1844.

pealed to him as little as did their advocacy of a national bank. But the plan of annexing Texas for the purpose of extending the area of slavery met with his decided opposition, and in the campaign of 1844 in behalf of the Whig candidates he used much the same line of reasoning that led him to desert the party four years later. It is doubtful if people today take their politics as seriously as they did in 1844, when the defeat of Clay was so severe a trial that it literally prostrated large numbers of his admiring followers. "It seemed to me an irretrievable national calamity," said Julian, "and I so brooded over it that for nearly a week sleep was impossible. I felt indignant at the Birney men, ignorantly believing that they elected Polk. If Clay had not trimmed in the canvass, and if he had not made his unfortunate Mendenhall speech in 1842,¹⁶ he might have won the long coveted prize of the presidency, but as the champion of compromise he proved himself unfit for it, and unworthy of that idolatry of devotion with which his friends espoused his cause."¹⁷

In May, 1845, occurred Julian's marriage to Anne Elizabeth Finch of Centerville, only daughter of Cyrus Finch, an able lawyer of eastern Indiana who had been cut off in early life by tuber-

16. On the occasion of Clay's visit to Richmond in 1842 a delegation of Quakers headed by Hiram Mendenhall besought him to free his slaves. Clay's somewhat heated reply to his petitioners lost him many votes in the ensunig presidential election.

17. Julian's *Autobiography*.

culosis. The following wedding notice is from *The Wayne County Record*, a Centerville newspaper published by Samuel C. Meredith,¹⁸ John Finley being the author of the verses:

MARRIED—On Tuesday the 13th inst.,
by Elder S. K. Hoshour, GEORGE W.
JULIAN Esq., to Miss ANNE E. FINCH,
both of Centerville.

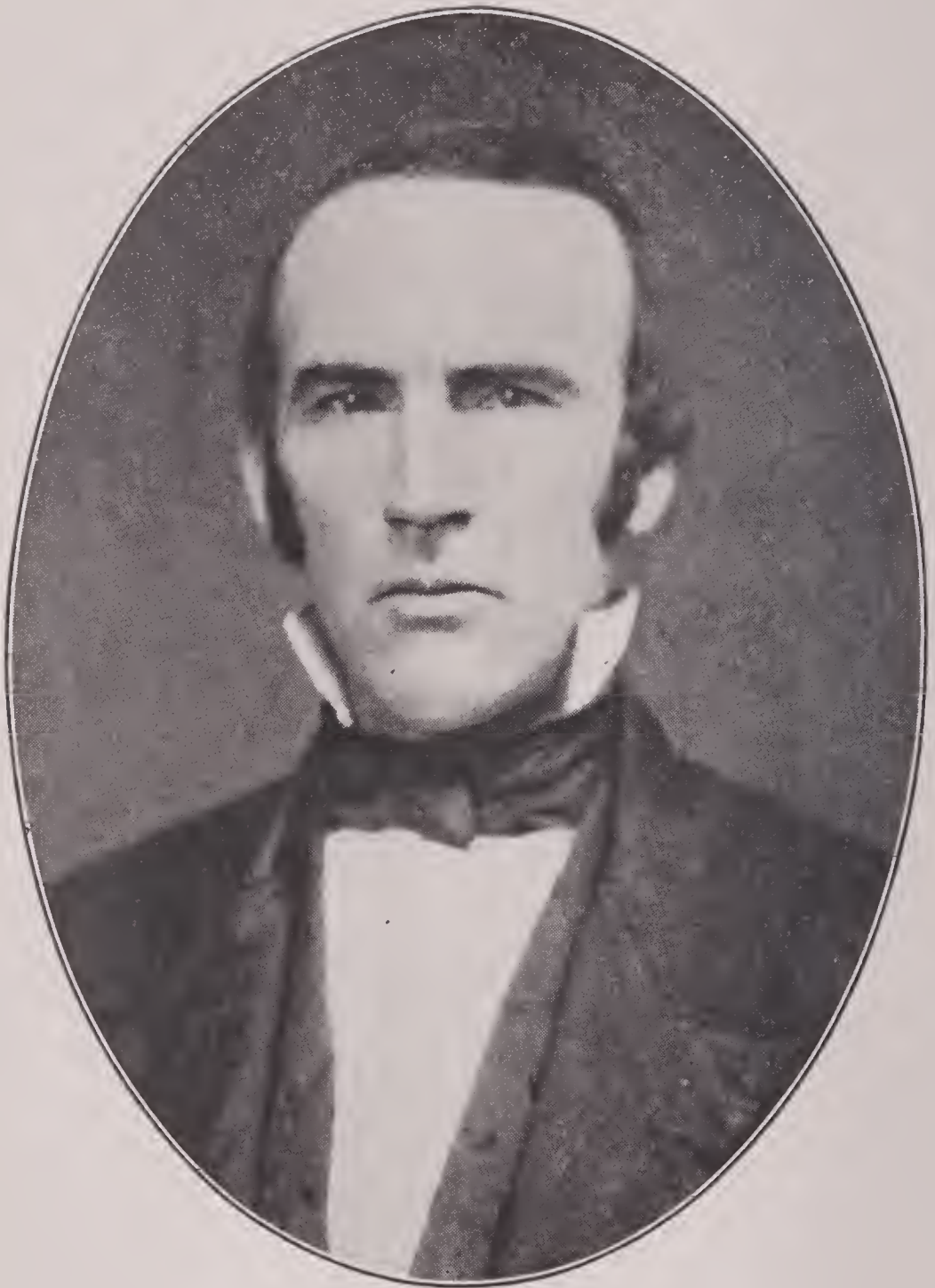
We received no cake, but by request
publish the following lines written for
the occasion:—

Life hath its joys as well as sorrows,
A bliss to balance every pain;
Our dark todays bring bright tomorrows,
A checkered scene of loss and gain.
But of all joys to life pertaining,
The nonpareil of every sweet
Is found in Hymen's silken chaining,
When youth and love in rapture meet.

Just below appears the notice of another union, that of Oliver P. Morton Esq. and Lucinda Maria Burbank, which occurred two days later, the same bride's maid, Miss Sarah Jane Noble, serving at both functions.

Mrs. Julian was only eighteen at the time of her marriage, and all accounts agree that she was beautiful, while her singularly quick perceptions, impulsiveness and enthusiasm were in marked contrast with her husband's sedate manner and reflective habits. They set up their household

18. Grandfather of Meredith Nicholson.



Julian at the age of twenty-eight, while serving in the
Indiana General Assembly, session of 1845

goods in a one-story brick residence, still standing, a little south of the Methodist church in Centerville, where during the first year their total expenses amounted to a trifle over two hundred dollars. "The furniture and entire appointments were exceedingly plain," wrote Julian many years later, "and yet we were perfectly happy," which perhaps is only another way of saying, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within." Mrs. Julian had completed the course at the County Seminary, the best educational institution then accessible, and like her husband was naturally studious. One contemplates with satisfaction the picture of the young husband sharing the domestic tasks on returning from his office, so as the more speedily to enter upon their joint reading, and also their co-operation in the care of the little son who came within a twelvemonth to complete their joy.¹⁹

In August following his marriage Julian was elected as a Whig to the State Legislature, where he took a firm stand in favor of the Butler Bill, which was opposed by his Whig brethren, and the abolition of capital punishment, and against the shameful policy of Legislative divorces. Among the most active of the younger members, he was not content with simply expressing his convictions in the Legislative hall, but sent frequent communications to the newspapers for the

19. George W. and Anne E. Julian were the parents of three children—Edward Channing, b. April 15, 1846, d. March 2, 1865; Louis Henry, b. Jan. 27, 1854, d. Oct. 16, 1863; and Frederick Hoover, b. Feb. 14, 1856, d. Sept. 30, 1911.

purpose of educating and molding public opinion. It is a curious fact that until the adoption of the Constitution of 1851 the granting of divorces by the General Assembly was common, and the practice had reached such extraordinary proportions and was carried on in so haphazard a manner as to lead to serious misgivings in the interest of public morals. In an article in *The Indiana State Journal* of December 23, 1845, Julian carefully set forth the reasons for his opposition, over the signature "A Lobby Member." In the first place he held that the power to grant divorces was plainly vested by the Revised Statutes in the Judiciary alone, and that the legislative body by its action was exercising a function in direct violation of the constitution. But even admitting for the sake of the argument that the Legislature was not restrained by any constitutional prohibition, he insisted that public policy was utterly opposed to the present practice of granting divorces without inquiry as to facts. The members of the General Assembly acting under oath faithfully to discharge their duties, were turning that oath into derision by making a legislative frolic of that which ought to be a very serious and solemn business. "Thus the institution of marriage is desecrated and scoffed at by a set of apparently unreflecting and unconscientious politicians whose moral perceptions can only be quickened by the well applied rod of their constituents."²⁰

20. *Indiana State Journal*, December 23, 1845.

The measure known as the Butler Bill was fully discussed by him in the *Wayne County Record* of February 11, 1846, over his own signature. This bill, which took its name from Charles Butler of New York, the agent of English bondholders, provided for the satisfaction of one half of the State's eleven-million-dollar indebtedness by transferring to these bondholders in trust the Wabash and Erie Canal with its lands and revenues, and the payment of the interest on the other half by taxation. In view of the financial condition of the State at the time, its passage was of vital moment, and probably saved Indiana from the shame of repudiation; but it became a party issue and for giving it his support Julian was severely censured by Whig friends and organs. He however always regarded this vote with satisfaction as a conscientious endeavor to solve a vexatious problem as well as an early exhibition of independence, and his action was destined to meet with a gratifying reward three years later in his first race for Congress.

His service in the General Assembly was helpful in several ways. For the first time he came in contact with men of varying talents from other parts of the state, and by measuring himself with them he must have been able the better to gauge his own abilities. Among his associates were Joseph Morrow,²¹ one of his former teachers, Den-

21. Born in North Carolina in 1799, he came to Wayne County when a boy and served in the State Legislature in 1838, 1839, 1845, 1846, 1850 and 1851.

nis Pennington,²² then past seventy, who had come to Indiana Territory in 1802, and to whom must have attached a peculiar interest from the fact that he had served in the Legislature with Julian's father in 1822; Reuben A. Riley, destined to be the father of Indiana's favorite poet; Conrad Baker, afterwards governor of the State, and Joseph Lane, who later represented Oregon in the United States Senate and became a candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Breckenridge in 1860. James Whitcomb, an able and adroit party leader, was then Democratic Governor of Indiana, and was elected United States Senator a few years later. The Lieutenant Governor was Jesse D. Bright, then at the threshold of his public life, and it was this Legislature which elected him for the first time to the United States Senate and launched him upon his remarkable career as the autocrat of his party in the State. Julian enjoyed some of the social functions of the capital, forming friendships that lasted through life. He learned something of parliamentary procedure in a larger assembly than the Dark Lyceum and the literary and debating societies of his own village, and he was led to consider questions to which he

22. Dennis Pennington, born in Virginia, 1776. Came to Kentucky with Henry Clay in 1797. Moved to Corydon, Harrison County, Indiana. Speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives in 1811 and 1815 and it is said that he sat in more sessions of the Legislature than any other man in the history of the State. Was a member of the first Constitutional convention of 1816 and helped build the old Capitol at Corydon. Illiterate but of excellent natural powers. Matilda Gresham, *Life of W. Q. Gresham*, Vol. I, p. 13.

had hitherto given little thought. Also, and this is important, his love of home and of domestic life was heightened by the enforced absence.

On returning to Centerville he continued reading, with his wife, the works of Dr. William Ellery Channing, whose sermon at the ordination of Jared Sparks which had accidentally fallen in his way the preceding summer, marked an epoch in his spiritual development and had a decided effect on his political views; also such anti-slavery papers and pamphlets as he could procure; and the works of Thomas Carlyle. Certain passages of Carlyle's about justice, truth and human rights so fixed themselves in his consciousness that they became "trumpet-calls to battle against oppression and inequality, whether taking the undisguised form of chattel slavery, or that organized cupidity which makes labor the helpless drudge of capital, or that system of agricultural serfdom which rests upon the unrestricted monopoly of the soil." There is no doubt that these books were timely helps in the unfolding of his moral nature, a process still further stimulated by the state of public affairs at that time. "Cheap postage for the people" was becoming a rallying cry and taking its rank as a new question. The land policy of the Whigs, which looked to the sale of the public domain as a source of revenue, was seriously challenged by the issue of land reform, which proposed to set apart the public lands for free homes for the poor and to derive revenue

from their productive wealth. The prohibition of slavery in our national territories was another much discussed subject, destined soon to overshadow all others. It was a period fraught with tremendous significance, the full import of which could not then be clearly apprehended, and this slowly developing young man of open mind and genuinely democratic instincts was unconsciously preparing to play an honorable part in more than one engagement of the future.

When a Methodist minister named Kavanaugh lectured in Centerville in behalf of 'Colonization' in the winter of 1845-6, declaring that the people of the free States had "nothing to do with slavery" and that they ought to "worship God and mind their own business," Julian replied to him in two decidedly anti-slavery articles which appeared in the Centerville *News-Letter*²³ and were copied into other papers, and which, reinforced by an article on the Black Laws of the State in *The Wayne County Record*, first directed against him the charge of Abolitionism. He however still considered himself a Whig in spite of that party's recreancy on certain vital issues; for men do not lightly desert the political standard under which they have served, and he earnestly hoped that with

23. A literary paper started in Centerville in 1846 by C. B. Bentley, with whom was afterwards associated Hampden G. Finch, brother-in-law of Mr. Julian. Young's *History of Wayne County*, p. 93.

such leadership as that of Adams²⁴ and Giddings,²⁵ the old organization might yet be conducted into right channels. That the soil was being prepared for his final break with Whiggery two years later is clearly indicated in an editorial contributed by him to the *News-Letter* of June 6, 1846, entitled "The Age We Live In," which is a warning against yielding the individual conscience and judgment too much to the prevailing and accepted opinion of the time, and a plea for independent thought and action.

In the spring of 1847 Julian sought the Whig nomination as State Senator for Wayne County in place of David P. Holloway,²⁶ who in the late Legislature had strongly opposed the Butler Bill and had not ceased to condemn, through his organ, *The Richmond Palladium*, Julian's support of that measure. The latter defended himself in a series of articles in *The Wayne County Record* over the signature "Caveat," which were widely copied and constitute one of the best contemporary accounts of that much discussed measure. Holloway was renominated after a fierce canvass, the chief contributing causes being Julian's apostacy on the

24. Charles Francis Adams, Free Soil candidate for vice president in 1848. Ambassador to England 1861-1868.

25. Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, for twenty-one years a leading anti-slavery Representative in Congress, 1838-1859.

26. Editor the *Richmond Palladium*.

Butler Bill and the charge of Abolitionism industriously circulated, which assuredly had some foundation not only in his *News-Letter* articles of the previous year, but in his public avowal that he would never vote for another slaveholder or military chieftain for the presidency. His defeat for this nomination was no doubt fortunate, as it naturally deepened his anti-slavery convictions and still further opened the way for his final separation from the Whigs in the following year.

CHAPTER III

Religious Perplexities—Politics—Buffalo Convention—Campaign of 1848—Persecution—Dissolution of Law Partnership—Letters to Giddings.

In June, 1847 the Julians moved into a new brick house on Main Street, Centerville, the construction of which had been begun the previous autumn, a modest dwelling, but more pretentious than the one where they had spent the first two years of their married life. They continued their miscellaneous reading, enjoying among other things Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*, where for the first time they found woman suffrage advocated. Julian records in his *Journal* his surprise at the idea and also at the fact that it had not before occurred to him, adding that the logic of democracy made its acceptance inevitable.¹ He was thenceforth a consistent supporter of this reform, with which his name is honorably connected. They found time for poetry too, Lowell,

1. "The subject was first brought to my attention in a brief chapter on 'The Political Non-existence of Women' in Miss Martineau's book on *Society In America* which I read in 1847. She there pithily stated the substance of all that has since been said respecting the logic of woman's right to the ballot; and finding myself unable to answer it I accepted it. On recently referring to this chapter I find myself more impressed by its force than when I first read it." *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. III, p. 552, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. Quoted from George W. Julian.

Whittier and Wordsworth sounding helpful notes. It was their custom, as it had been the custom of Julian and his brother Isaac, to commit passages to memory, and among the lines traceable to this period that remained with him through life were *The Happy Warrior* and parts of the *Ode To Duty*.

That his interest in religious questions had not abated is shown by some long letters in 1848 from Lucretia Mott² to whom he had written for counsel in regard to certain theological difficulties that had presented themselves. She and her husband had been among the first guests in the newly completed home, on the occasion of a western tour, and the friendship then begun was terminated only by death. It was Julian's custom always to reach out towards those who knew more than he knew, and such were his sincerity and frankness that he was never rebuffed. His eager endeavors to satisfy his spiritual doubts and longings kept him on the anxious seat and occupied much of his leisure for years. The miracles and prophecies puzzled and perplexed him. How could he reconcile the former with the unchangeableness of natural laws? Some of the prophecies, he learned, were written after the events which they pretended to foretell. The *Christian Examiner*, which dealt with these questions, did not dispel but rather increased his doubts. So he laid his

2. B. 1793; d. 1880. Minister of the Society of Friends or Quakers, also pioneer in the anti-slavery and Woman Suffrage movements.

troubles before Mrs. Mott who seemed to him the embodiment of spiritual insight and intelligent sympathy, and who now recommended Palfrey's *Lectures On The Old Testament*, Norton's books on the *Genuineness Of The Gospels*, De Wette's *Introduction To The Old Testament* translated by Theodore Parker, and other works. She sent him Parker's famous sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity", the *Life of Joseph Blanco White* and other volumes prized both for their helpfulness and because of his regard for the donor.

Mrs. Mott also laid his case before the Rev. William Henry Furness,³ whose earnest advice she repeated: "If your young friend would read the prophecies in the Quaker spirit and philosophy, he would see that those men were the fiery reformers of their day, men who regarded every clear intuition of their consciences as a direct word from the Lord, . . . and that their inspiration was the same in kind with the inspiration of all truth and goodness and wisdom." And the saintly Quaker thus set forth her own views as to the inspiration of the Bible: "Now that skepticism of the theology of the schools has become somewhat a duty, free-thinkers may go to the other extreme and fail to award to the scriptures all the beautiful and blessed instruction they contain. I have for years accustomed myself to read and examine them as nearly as I would any

3. B. 1802; d. 1896. For fifty years pastor of the First Unitarian Church, Philadelphia. Actively engaged in the anti-slavery cause.

other book as early education and veneration would permit. I have now no difficulty in deciding upon the human and ignorant origin of such facts as conflict with the known and eternal laws of Deity in the physical creation, be the claim to the miraculous ever so high and the assumption of the prophetic and God-inspired ever so strong. Still less, if possible, do I waver when any violation of the divine and eternal law of right, such as murder in any of its forms, slavery in any of its degrees, and priest-craft in its various shapes, as palmed upon the religious world, is declared to be THUS SAITH THE LORD.”⁴

But professional and other responsibilities presently became so absorbing that the reading and study were necessarily abridged. Earnest and persevering as were Julian’s theological investigations, he yet did not feel entirely satisfied with the results, and doubts continued to harass and perplex him until he finally found himself compelled, in order to secure intellectual peace, to take his stand with the radical wing of the Unitarian body in demanding absolute freedom of thought. “My experience”, said he, “during the years I was struggling to be satisfied with my semi-orthodox religion strikingly resembled that of Harriet Martineau as stated in her charming *Autobiography*; but I did not follow her into Positivism and the denial of a future life. I did not abjure religion altogether because one of its

4. Letter of Mrs. Mott dated “11th mo. 14th 1848”.

accepted foundations gave way; while in facing the duties and trials of life I gradually found strength and tranquility of mind. And when I espoused the anti-slavery cause and unselfishly gave my whole heart to its service, the doctrinal doubts and anxieties that had troubled me seemed unworthy of one who loved his neighbor and believed in the brotherhood of man."⁵

During the fall and winter of 1847-8 the approaching presidential struggle was the engrossing topic of discussion throughout the country. Old party issues were becoming subordinated to the question of slavery, which persistently forced itself to the front and challenged attention. While the Southern leaders entertained no hope of establishing their peculiar institution in Oregon, they resisted the application to that Territory of the provisions of The Ordinance of 1787 without a public legal recognition of the validity of slavery south of 36° and 30' in the recent Mexican cessions, including part of California. The obvious danger of further slavery extension had awakened an unprecedented interest in the subject among the people of the free States. The Wilmot Proviso, or the exclusion of slavery from all territory to be acquired from Mexico, had become a great national issue that threatened the disruption of both the old parties, each of which was trying to ignore it in the interest of harmony and ascendancy. In the North the parties were

5. Unpublished Autobiography.

divided on the question, while in the South they were perfectly agreed. General Lewis Cass, who eagerly sought the Democratic nomination for the presidency, was seeking to pacify the southern wing of his party by the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery in the Territories, while General Zachary Taylor was doing his best to secure the Whig nomination by extensive letter writing in which he dodged the issue, while he was supported by northern and southern friends on exactly opposite grounds.

In the spring of 1848 Julian recorded in his *Journal* his anxiety as to the situation and his determination to remain aloof from political excitement and to attend strictly to business.⁶ Only that Muse who is said to smile aloft, "surveying our acts from their well-springs", could have known the futility of this resolve. Inclination and interest alike prompted avoidance of the coming political strife, and especially a quarrel with his party, in whose ranks were nearly all the clients of 'Julian and Julian', as well as their close personal friends. In view of these considerations, and of his fixed purpose not to vote for another slaveholder or military chieftain for president, he became more and more concerned lest Taylor should be named as the Whig standard bearer. The argument of availability was irresistible, however, and "Old Rough-and-Ready" was nominated on June 7th at Philadelphia by

6. Julian's *Journal*, May 5, 1848.

that convention which Horace Greeley branded as "the slaughter house of Whig principles."

What was the young lawyer to do? On one side was his vow, perfectly coinciding with his clear sense of duty. On the other, were his bread and butter, the claim of party fealty, and the desire to live in peace with old and valued friends. He at first thought that he would withhold his vote from the presidential ticket while supporting the other Whig nominees, but he soon found that this would not satisfy the party leaders, who openly threatened him with political and professional ruin if he did not fall into line. His brother Jacob, impatient at his hesitation, urged submission as a duty to his family. "Sound the conscience and sink the family", exclaims George Meredith, and does not Henrik Ibsen say that friends are an expensive luxury not because of what one does for them, but because of what out of consideration for their wishes, one refrains from doing? This is well illustrated by the painful dilemma that Julian faced at this time, and he expressed the conviction long afterwards, that the choice he then made was one of the decisive acts of his life.

The Free Soil movement of 1848 in which he presently found himself launched was one of the most picturesque as well as crucial in our country's history. With Cass and Taylor as the leaders of the old parties, the many northern Whigs and Democrats who were committed to the policy

of the Wilmot Proviso were confronted with the necessity of a new organization which should voice their earnest convictions in regard to the freedom of the Territories, and it was generally felt that the Liberty party men who had supported James G. Birney four years before would join with these and other elements provided a suitable candidate could be found.

A national Free Soil convention was therefore called to meet in Buffalo on August 9th, and to this convention Julian went as a delegate. It is a significant fact that the delegates to this gathering were not chosen; they were men who went because they felt such a compelling interest that they could not remain away. During the early summer [1848] Julian had contributed, over the signature "A Northern Whig", two forcible articles to *The National Era*⁷ on "The Claims of General Taylor", in which he showed that these claims were based exclusively on military services, Taylor himself admitting that he had no opinions on any of the great questions that were considered vital to the prosperity of the country; that he was politically in the hands of the South, and the undoubted representative of southern as opposed to northern policy and interest; that it was high time to take a stand against slavery encroachment and to maintain that stand regardless of any supposed consequences; and finally, that

7. Anti-slavery newspaper established in Washington in 1844. Edited by Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made its first appearance in this paper.

party is not an end but a means, allegiance to which ought to cease when it fails to subserve the public good.

“There is a moral in every political duty. I am willing to acknowledge the reasonable claims of party, but its claims must be reasonable. I repudiate the idea that my right to think and act for myself on political matters is utterly gone the moment my party shall issue its decree. To concede this would be to subscribe to a system of popery in politics, which makes every votary of it a slave. The idea of infallibility in any man or body of men has been abandoned in the Protestant Christian world, and ought to be abandoned in the political world. Shall I allow a set of men like myself to say to me, ‘You are a Whig and we have determined upon the course Whigs ought to pursue. . . . Our party will be ruined unless General Taylor is elected; and if you vote for him contrary to your own convictions of duty we hereby absolve you from allegiance to your country and your Creator, and will be answerable in your stead’. This is virtually the claim set up by the Whiggery of 1848. Ought men who claim to be free to submit to it? Shall men who have their eyes fixed upon duty, and who in pursuit of it have already abjured the tyranny of party, be driven back to its devil-worship by the cry of Abolitionism or any other cry? If through fear of public opinion or dread of popular obloquy, we fail to do our duty, *can* we escape the responsibil-

ity by throwing it upon our party? Shall honest convictions be stifled through lack of courage to avow and stand by them, under whatever circumstances, in the good hope of ultimate triumph? I submit these questions to the judgments and consciences of the Whigs of the North.”⁸

He also wrote numerous articles for *The Free Territory Sentinel*, an organ of the new party published at Centerville by Rawson Vaile, the first number of which appeared on August 23, 1848. In view of Julian's subsequent connection with public land matters it is interesting to note that one of these articles was in advocacy of a national homestead policy.

He had hoped for the nomination of Charles Francis Adams by the Free Soilers, and previous to his arrival in Buffalo felt that he could not support Van Buren, because even though the latter had opposed immediate annexation four years before and thus lost the Democratic nomination, he had nevertheless been too subservient to the slave power to render him a desirable leader for the new party. But when Van Buren consented to run as the candidate of so many elements, on an outspoken anti-slavery platform, the situation was altered and his own course was clear.

The Buffalo convention afforded him his first contact with the vital forces of the anti-slavery movement, and his political principles were strengthened by listening to such men as Salmon

8. Julian *Scrap-Book*.

P. Chase, Joshua R. Giddings, Charles Francis Adams, Preston King, Samuel Lewis and Joshua Leavitt, all of whom he had known by reputation and longed to meet. Soon after his return he was appointed an elector for Van Buren and Adams for the Fourth Congressional District of Indiana and prepared for an active campaign on the stump. Having procured from a Quaker friend, Jonathan Macy, "an old white horse fully seventeen hands high, and rather thin in flesh",⁹ and having playfully christened the animal "Old Whitey" in honor of General Taylor's war steed, he set out on his anti-slavery mission, speaking twice and frequently three times a day, for two or three hours at a time. His training in the Dark Lyceum was turned to good account, and his earnestness as well as absolute faith in the cause he advocated made him more than a match for any of the Whig leaders in the district.

That was a period of bitter personalities, when vituperation, ridicule, and every weapon that partisan malice could suggest were the order of the day. Social ostracism was his portion, and friends of a lifetime became enemies. His twenty-one-year old wife was not spared; when she walked abroad she was conscious not only of the averted glance but occasionally of jeers, and during her husband's absence she was more than once awakened at night by hoodlums, groaning and hooting beneath her window. It seems almost

9. *Political Recollections*, p. 66.

past belief that methods so outlandish could have been resorted to in Indiana almost within the memory of persons now living. The charge of Abolitionism was flung at Julian wherever he went, and it is well nigh impossible to appreciate the odium then attached to this term. He was called an "amalgamationist", a "woolly-head", the "apostle of disunion" and the "orator of free dirt". He had the "negrophobia", and it was insisted that he carried in his pocket a lock of the hair of Frederick Douglass, which it was said the latter had given him in Buffalo. At one time party feeling ran so high in Centerville that he was threatened with transportation out of the village on a rail, and he would not have been surprised had some such violence been attempted. But this was not all that he was called upon to endure. Under date of September 19th, occurs this entry in his *Journal*:

"This day, because I *would* be a Barnburner¹⁰ J. B. Julian requested a dissolution of our partnership, to which of course I promptly agreed. I am now thrown entirely upon my own resources, political and professional. I set out anew, with the loss of my standing in the great Whig party,

10. The *Barnburners* were the Van Buren faction of the New York Democracy who opposed the extension of slavery into the Territories, as distinguished from the *Hunkers* or followers of Gen. Polk. So called from an alleged eagerness for radical measures, in allusion to the Dutchman who burned his barn in order to rid it of rats. The appellations *Conscience Whigs* and *Cotton Whigs* had about the same significance as applied to the two wings of the other party. The names were also current outside of New York.

the alienation of a large body of political and personal friends, including nearly all who under other circumstances would have been my best clients. Everything that party tyranny and exasperation can suggest will be done to prostrate me, by men who *know* that I am honest in my convictions and that I could have no sinister motives. And now even a brother, chiming in with the popular clamor, sees proper to join in the general cry of 'mad dog'. Well, be it so. The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong. A better day will come; and believing this, and seeing it with the eye of faith, I shall not despair but thank God and take courage."¹¹

The Free Soil party failed to carry the vote of even one State, and Julian felt that Van Buren afterwards proved unworthy of the splendid support accorded him in 1848. But this organized stand for the right and protest against the wrong met with gratifying results, the most important being that a rallying point was thus afforded for the friends of freedom during a chaotic period, presaging the great movement which elected Lincoln in 1860 and successfully prosecuted the Civil War.

As for the effect of the campaign on Julian's personal fortunes, to the eye of worldly prudence it must have seemed disastrous. By careful saving he had probably laid by one hundred dollars, possibly a little more. He had a wife and child,

11. Julian's *Journal*, Sept. 19, 1848.

and his only means of livelihood was the legal profession, on which he had but fairly entered. Had Mrs. Julian been of a different fiber, or had there been any lack of understanding and sympathy between them, great unhappiness must have resulted. That increased self-denial was entailed, and even hardship, goes without saying. But in meeting a great issue openly and honestly, unbiased by selfish considerations, their entire horizon had widened, so that things that had once seemed of large moment in their lives were dwarfed by comparison with other and more weighty concerns.

The two following letters show how the slavery question was taking possession of him, and the thoroughness with which he was preparing to make war upon the institution; they also foreshadow a long and beautiful friendship between two men who had many characteristics in common:

Centerville, Indiana, December 5, 1848.

Hon. J. R. Giddings, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir—Although an entire stranger to you I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines. I have long been your admirer and a reader of your speeches in Congress; and I owe to you, to John Quincy Adams and to Dr. Channing my emancipation from the thralldom of that truckling and time-serving policy which has so long characterized alike the politicians and the people of the Northern States. Having been disappointed in my expectation of a personal introduction to you at Buffalo, I avail myself of this method of bringing myself into closer relations with

you, so that hereafter, if agreeable to you, I may have the advantage of your friendship in advocating in this portion of Indiana the great Free Soil movement.

By way of further introduction to the favors I am about to ask I ought perhaps to say that I was one of the Free Soil electors for this (Caleb B. Smith's) Congressional district, having canvassed the whole district laboriously and I think not without effect in the way of public speaking; and that in the ensuing Congressional campaign here it may devolve upon me again to take the field in defense of Free Soil.

With a view to more extensive acquaintance with slavery in our government I need a good deal of information, mostly historical. I have lately come across a pamphlet called *Facts for the People*, compiled in part from your writings, with which I am much pleased. If I had a number of copies for circulation much good could be done in opening the eyes of the blind. Where can the work be procured and what would be the cost by the hundred or in larger quantities? I should like the whole of your work entitled "The Rights of the Free States Subverted". Perhaps you will forward me a copy. I hear Jay's writings on slavery highly spoken of, and should like to have them if I knew the titles and where to direct for them. I also want your speeches delivered heretofore on the encroachments of the slave power. I should like some speech or document showing how northern men of both parties have generally voted on such questions as taxing the North to pay for run-away slaves, and whether the Whigs of the free States have been a consistent anti-slavery party. This is their boast here, and I wish to confront them with facts.

Please let me hear from you in reply and oblige

Very respectfully

Your friend,

GEO. W. JULIAN.

Centerville, Jan. 4, 1849.

Hon. J. R. Giddings:

Dear Sir—Your letter of Dec. 10, came duly to hand, and I have also received from you a number of documents for which I return my thanks.

I have a few other favors to ask provided you can grant them without putting yourself to too much trouble, and I ask them only on this condition. Perhaps your recollection will sufficiently serve without a reference to documents. I should be glad to know how the northern Whigs voted on the bill in 1846 to appropriate money under the treaty with the Creek and Seminole Indians in 1845. Also how they voted on the bill brought forward at the last session of Congress to pay the executors of Benjamin Hodges for his run-away slaves; how they voted on the right of petition and the resolutions in 1842 for introducing which you were censured; how they voted on the bill to pay for the Amistad negroes, and how they have uniformly voted on measures for abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District.

* * * * *

I should like to know whether the Wilmot Proviso question will probably be settled in any way this winter or not; also if there are any lights on the subject in Washington, what Taylor *will* do if required to act on the question.

Please write me and oblige

Yours with great respect,

GEO. W. JULIAN.¹²

12. Giddings *Letters*. Unfortunately Giddings' replies to these letters can not be found.

CHAPTER IV

*Elected to Thirty-first Congress—Washington in
1850—Social Ostracism of Free Soilers—
Contest for Speaker—William J. Brown
Episode—The Compromise—First
Speech in Congress—Letter from
Sumner—Speech on ‘The Heal-
ing Measures’—Visit to New
England—The Homestead
Bill—International
Peace*

A totally unforeseen but by no means unnatural result of Julian's efforts in behalf of Free Soil principles in 1848 was his nomination for Congress the following autumn by conventions of the new party in every county in the 'Burnt District'.¹ His Whig opponent was Samuel W. Parker, brother-in-law of the then incumbent, Caleb B. Smith, and in the canvass all the passions of the year before were rekindled and intensified. Parker declared that he too was an

1. Then the Fourth Congressional District of Indiana; now the Sixth. First so called in 1845 when an overwhelming Whig victory almost wiped out the Democratic party. This occurred shortly after two severe fires, one in Pittsburgh and the other in New York City, details of which were set forth in newspapers under the caption "Burnt District". The name at first applied facetiously by the Democrats themselves to the region of their party's disaster has ever since clung to the Whitewater district. Julian's Unpublished *Autobiography*. Also J. P. Dunn's article on "Burnt District", *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 23, 1922.

Abolitionist, "no yearling" either, but "of twenty-one years standing", having started out with Garrison. Although deficient in the logical faculty, Parker was a lawyer who ranked high as an orator, and was an intense partisan.

At the opening of the campaign the odds seemed decidedly with the Whigs, but as the Democrats, who had no hope of electing a candidate of their own, began to rally to the support of the Free Soil nominee, which they did partly because they were eager to chastise the Whigs, heretofore overwhelmingly in the ascendant in eastern Indiana, and partly in recognition of Julian's independent attitude in the State Legislature four years before, it was seen that the contest was to be close. It is said to have been a picturesque campaign, in which Julian's earnestness, his facile use of humor and sarcasm, supplemented by the rough training gained in his contests with Walpole in Greenfield, enabled him at least to hold his own; the result was the election of the Free Soiler by a majority of one hundred and fifty-three votes.

It seemed doubtful however whether he would ever occupy the seat he had gained because of a series of hemorrhages from the lungs, brought on by excessive speaking, which confined him to his bed for weeks and threatened his life. Accounts in his *Journal* of being "cupped in fifty-seven places" and of copious applications of croton oil, remind one that there were terrors

other than political in those days, and that a vigorous constitution may be proof against almost any assaults. This was his first serious illness and he became so restive under it and so eager to be at his post that almost as soon as convalescence began the doctors consented as a choice of evils that he should set out for Washington, which he did on December 10th, arriving there nine days later. The journey was by carriage to Cincinnati, thence by steamer to Pittsburgh, and over the mountains in a stage coach, an exhausting ordeal for a man able to sit up only a few hours each day. But ambition and determination are powerful factors, and improvement was so steady that he was able to go at once to the Capitol and to assume the regular duties of his position.

The Julians at first took quarters in the United States Hotel, where their *vis-a-vis* at table were Col. Jefferson Davis, then a Senator from Mississippi, and his family. In the course of a few weeks, however, they joined Giddings and Judge Charles Allen, a Representative from Massachusetts, in lodgings on the north side of the Public Grounds facing the Capitol.

The Washington of that time, with its unpaved streets, open gutters and nondescript architecture, presented the appearance of an overgrown village rather than the seat of government of a great nation. The Capitol consisted of the central portion only, without the two wings which

add so greatly to its majestic appearance, and the old wooden dome had not yet been replaced by the present massive structure topped by its figure of Freedom. But to the Hoosier pair who made its acquaintance during the winter of 1849-1850 it was grandly impressive, and although their introduction to the civilization of the south had in it an element of repulsion, bringing them face to face for the first time with human bondage and its accompaniments, yet they were vastly interested and correspondingly edified.

Members of Congress then lived for the most part in boarding-houses, forming what they called "messes" or groups whose tastes and ideals were congenial. In Mr. Giddings' "mess" of the previous session had been Abraham Lincoln, a Representative from Illinois, whose honesty and native ability had appealed to the Ohio member, and he may well have referred to the tall westerner in conversation with his new friends. Giddings' urbanity and kindliness at once won for him a place in the affections of Mr. and Mrs. Julian, and he became their guide and confidential adviser. The other members of the Indiana delegation were eight Democrats:—Nathaniel Albertson of Greenville, First District; Cyrus L. Dunham of Salem, Second District; John L. Robinson of Rushville, Third District; William J. Brown of Indianapolis, Fifth District; Willis A. Gorman of Bloomington, Sixth District; Joseph E. McDonald of Crawfordsville, Eighth District; Graham N.

Fitch of Logansport, Ninth District; and Andrew J. Harlan of Marion, Tenth District; and one Whig, Edward W. McGaughey of Rockville, Seventh District. Of these McGaughey and Julian [Fourth District] were the only native Hoosiers, the others having been born in Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, or New York.

Julian had met only two of his colleagues before going to Washington, but in any event his relations with them could not have been intimate owing to the sharpness with which party lines were then drawn and the wide divergence of his political views from theirs. He was cordially welcomed by the Free Soil members however, who were particularly glad to see him because of rumors in regard to his illness and the possibility that he would never reach Washington. Owing to their limited number, every individual Free Soiler loomed large in the eyes of Freedom's friends at that time. He soon felt at home among his new associates, which was fortunate, for socially these men were made to feel the effect of their ultra political ideas and were thrown much upon their own resources.²

The home of Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*, offered the chief social refuge for this group of "pestilent fanatics", and their

2. Mrs. Clement C. Clay of Alabama in her volume of reminiscences after describing the location of a group of "true line" Southerners some five years later adds: "We keep Free Soilers, Black Republicans and Bloomers on the other side of the street. They are afraid even to inquire for board at this house." *A Belle of the Fifties*, p. 43.

weekly gatherings there, frequented by literary men and women, philanthropists and reformers of various kinds, constituted a veritable salon of the elect. That these companies were not always formal and staid affairs is indicated by the fact that such games as "blind man's buff" were occasionally engaged in, which has a quaint and almost primeval sound to the ears of the present generation. Here came "Grace Greenwood" (Mrs. Sara J. Lippincott) one of the most widely known newspaper correspondents of the day, who has since written entertainingly of these companies, and here too were met other notable women, among them Fredericka Bremer, the Swedish novelist then on a visit to this country, and Mrs. Southworth, at the height of her fame as a writer of romances, whose home was a social Mecca for men and women of widely varying opinions.

The memorable contest for Speaker of the House of Representatives in which Howell Cobb, Democrat, opposed Robert C. Winthrop, Whig, was nearing its close when Julian arrived, a contest that well represented the controversy then challenging the attention of the country. The Free Soilers were agreed that they could not vote for Cobb, a slave-holder, even though their Democratic friends strongly desired and urged it. Neither could they gratify the Whigs by supporting Winthrop, because his conduct as Speaker in the preceding Congress had proven him "an accomplished Doughface", and he declined to pledge

himself to a more anti-slavery attitude in case of re-election. They accordingly voted for one another, most frequently for David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. Cobb was elected on the sixty-third ballot by the operation of the plurality rule, whereupon the Free Soilers were accused of having elected a slave-holder Speaker of the House, although they had insisted all along that they were ready to vote for any reliably anti-slavery Whig, and it was clearly understood that Winthrop could not command their support. The historian Rhodes in this connection insists that while it is true that there are now and then political principles that cannot be compromised under any circumstances, yet "for the most part in public life one should sacrifice his ideal good for the best attainable",³ and pronounces this such a case. On the other hand, we have the instance of an eminent New England worthy who when asked what his course would be if the choice lay between Satan and Belial, replied that his ballot would be cast with those of "Gabriel and the scattering voters." Just how far personalities entered into this particular incident it is impossible to say, but the character of the men who took this responsibility warrants the assumption of their sincerity and honesty of purpose.⁴

While Julian was steaming along the Ohio on

3. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 117.

4. Their action was thought by Julian to have been further vindicated by Winthrop's subsequent course in supporting Fillmore against Fremont in 1856, Bell against Lincoln in 1860, and McClellan against Lincoln in 1864.

his way to Washington he learned of a happening in connection with the Speakership contest that caused him much annoyance and that was destined indirectly to affect his own political future. William J. Brown, a Democratic colleague from Indiana, and one of the candidates for Speaker, had received the support of several Free Soil members and had at one time come within two votes of being elected. Brown was known to be pro-slavery in his sympathies, and the fact that staunch Free Soilers had voted for him aroused a suspicion of a secret bargain of some sort and alienated a sufficient number of southerners to defeat him. After the vote, the fact was brought out in open session that Brown had actually promised David Wilmot in writing to constitute certain committees in a manner satisfactory to the Free Soilers, and of course general discomfiture ensued. Julian lost no time after his arrival in expressing his surprise and dismay at the action of those Free Soilers who had entered into such a compact and in painting Brown in his true colors.

The Thirty-first Congress was one of the most interesting in the history of our government, and the young man whose fortune it was to participate in its deliberations was privileged in a rare degree. In the Senate appeared for the last time Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, all of whom except Clay, were born in 1782, and hence connect-

ing links between the Revolutionary and Civil War periods. Not less picturesque and dating back almost as far, was Sam Houston of Texas, while among the new men destined to exert a commanding influence on national affairs were William H. Seward of New York and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.

Slavery extension was the great question before the country. Oregon had been organized in the previous Congress, slavery being prohibited there, and the question of admitting California and New Mexico was now uppermost. Neither had yet taken on the form of territorial governments, but since the discovery of gold the population of California had so increased as to warrant application for statehood. A convention accordingly met, drafted a constitution in which slavery was distinctly prohibited, and this constitution was overwhelmingly ratified by the California people. President Taylor in his message to the new Congress advised admission, expressing the opinion that New Mexico would soon follow suit. Of course the southern members saw in this proposal an attempt to disturb the time honored equilibrium between the two sections in favor of the north, and great excitement prevailed.⁵ The south hoped to organize both California and New Mexico as territories, without slavery restriction, thus enabling southerners to settle there with

5. This equilibrium had for years been maintained by the admission of a free state and a slave state at about the same time.

their slaves and presently to form governments wherein slavery should be perpetuated. This situation was complicated by the question of the Texas boundary, the debt of Texas, the proposal to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the alleged necessity for a new and more rigorous Fugitive Slave Law.

It was with the hope and earnest desire of solving all these vexed questions and once more smoothing out the wrinkled aspect of national affairs that Senator Clay brought forward on January 29th his famous Compromise. He would admit California as a State without any restrictions as to slavery; he would establish territorial governments in the remaining Mexican cession, likewise without slavery restrictions; he would fix the western boundary of Texas without taking away any of New Mexico; he would have the general government assume the Texas debt on condition that Texas relinquish all claims on New Mexico; he would abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia so far as it related to negroes brought into the District for that purpose; and he urged a Fugitive Slave Law more satisfactory to the South.

This was Clay's famous "Omnibus Bill", and these were the principles debated by both Houses of Congress during more than seven months, and finally enacted into law, not in the form originally proposed by Clay but as separate measures, the last being out of the way in time for adjourn-

ment on September 30th. Throughout the long hot summer the discussion continued, many members being prostrated by the heat and returning to their homes. Cholera raged in and around Washington a part of the time, adding to the apprehension and discomfort. The death of President Taylor on July 9th cast a gloom over the city such as had not been known for years. Calhoun had died on March 31st, less than four weeks after his great speech on the Compromise in which he referred to Washington as "the illustrious southerner", a speech which he was too feeble to deliver, his friend Mason of Virginia performing this service. Julian heard this and the other notable utterances on the Compromise. His judgment of Webster's "Seventh of March Speech" coincided with the prevailing view at the north, that it was a shameless surrender of principle and an open bid for the presidency. Although some writers of a later day have looked with charitable eyes upon this act, seeing in it only a supreme effort to avert the threatened war between the sections, Julian never altered his view as to Webster's recreancy. Where freedom was involved he was implacable, and he firmly believed that the great New Englander had sold out to the south.⁶

During the first weeks of his service Julian properly remained quiet, a studious and watchful

6. For Julian's impressions of the Thirty-first Congress see his *Political Recollections*, chapters IV and V.

on-looker. That he was alert and not afraid to incur censure appears from the *Congressional Globe*, which shows that on January 6, 1850, he called down upon himself the displeasure of slaveholders and Doughfaces by presenting a petition from anti-slavery Friends praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and getting the yeas and nays on receiving it. His own delegation did not disguise its disapproval of this performance, as of later similar acts showing his disposition to do his own thinking and his defiance of the slave power.

In his first speech Julian made use of some of the material supplied the year before by Giddings, examining the subject of slavery in all its bearings, noticing and answering the arguments of southern members in its defense, replying effectively to the charge of "northern aggression", proving conclusively the uniform and shameless submission on the part of the north to the demands of the slave-holders, gallantly defending the Abolitionists, from whose constitutional doctrines he expressed total dissent, against the bitter charges made by southern statesmen, defining exactly the position of the little Free Soil contingent in Congress, and concluding by throwing down the gauntlet to the defenders of slavery North and South. The speech was ready for delivery in March and day after day for weeks he endeavored to obtain the floor, finally succeeding on May 14th. Considering the time, the attend-

ant circumstances, the audience to which it was addressed, and the speaker, a young westerner who had just passed his thirty-third birthday and whose educational advantages had been exceedingly meager it was a remarkable effort, of which his constituents may well have been proud. The following paragraphs from the opening of the speech convey an idea of its character:⁷

“I am not vain enough to suppose that anything I may say will influence the action of this committee (Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union); yet I should hereafter reproach myself were I to sit here day after day and week after week till the close of the session, listening to the monstrous heresies, and I am tempted to say the impudent bluster, of Southern gentlemen, without confronting them on this floor with a becoming protest in the name of the people I have the honor to represent. Sir, what is the language with which these gentlemen have greeted our ears for some months past? The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Clingman) tells us that less pauperism and crime abound in the South than in the North, and that there never has existed a higher civilization than is now exhibited by the slaveholding states of this Union; and so in love is he with his “peculiar institution”, which thus promotes the growth of civilization by turning three millions of human beings into savages, and pre-

7. *Congressional Globe*, Appendix, May 14, 1850, 31st Cong. 1st Sess. Vol. XXII, pp. 573-579.

vents them from becoming paupers by converting them into brutes, that he gives out the threat, doubtless in behalf of his Southern friends, that unless they are permitted, under national sanction, to extend their accursed system over the virgin soil of our territories, they will block the wheels of government, revolutionize the forms of legislation, and involve this nation in the horrors of civil war. Nay, he goes farther, and anticipating the triumph of Northern arms, and comparing the vanquished "chivalry" to the Spartans at Thermopylae, he kindly furnishes the future historian with the epitaph which is to tell to posterity the sad story of slave-holding valor: "*Here Lived and Died as Noble a Race as the Sun Ever Shown Upon*",—fighting (he should have added) for the extension and perpetuation of human bondage.

"The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Brown) manifests an equal devotion to the controlling interest of the South. He declares that he regards slavery as a great moral, social, political and religious blessing,—a blessing to the slave and a blessing to the master. The celebrated John Wesley was so fanatical as to declare that slavery is the sum of all villainies. Had he lived in this enlightened age and Christian land he would have learned that on the contrary it is the sum of all blessings. He would have been told that even the Bible sanctions it as a divine institution. Southern gentlemen remind us that it "existed in the tents of the patriarchs and in the

households of His chosen people”; that “it was established by decree of Almighty God”, and is sanctioned in the Bible—in both Testaments—from Genesis to Revelation”; and so sacredly is it to be cherished that we in the North are not allowed to give utterance to our deepest moral convictions respecting it. My friend from Mississippi graciously admits that we think slavery an evil; but he adds, “Very well, think so; but *keep your thoughts to yourselves.*” Thus, in the imperative mood and characteristic style of a slave-driver are we to be silenced. In this “freest nation on earth” our thoughts must be suppressed by this slaveholding inquisition. . . .

“And the gentleman from Mississippi, like his friend from North Carolina, is in favor of extending the blessings of slavery at all hazards. The South *will not* submit to be girdled round by free soil; and if we dare to thwart her purpose we are reminded of the struggle of our fathers against British tyranny. Southern gentlemen point us to the battlefields of our Revolution and bid us beware. A Northern man, especially if disposed to be “fanatical”, would suppose that our Southern brethren would avoid such allusions. Our fathers, it is true, resisted the aggressions of the mother country “at all hazards and to the last extremity”; but their resistance was not in behalf of slavery, but of freedom. Mr. Madison declared in 1783 that “it was the boast and pride of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature.” And Mr.

Jefferson said that one hour of this American slavery which has so recently been transfigured into all blessedness "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which we rose in rebellion to oppose." In speaking of an apprehended struggle of the blacks to rid themselves of their bondage he affirmed that "the Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest." Yet Southern gentlemen appeal to our Revolutionary history as a warning to us, and a justification of a war on their part, not for the establishment but the subversion of liberty, and the destruction of the 'rights of human nature' by the indefinite extension over free lands of that system of bondage which the very soul of Jefferson abhorred. All this, to northern men, seems strange. As a specimen of southern philosophy it may be very creditable to politicians from that quarter and it may appeal powerfully to their patriotism, but we cannot comprehend it. Nothing short of the serene understanding and unclouded vision of a slaveholder can fathom such arguments."^s

8. *Ibid.*

"It is refreshing in the midst of the disgusting and sickening exhibitions of Southern insolence, arrogance and rapacity on the one hand, and Northern concession, cowardice and treachery on the other, which form most of the history of the present Congress, to meet now and then a man who has not bartered away his manhood and who regards principle as something better than a bait to catch pious fools, a man who while he respects the rights of others will make his own respected. Mr. Julian's speech gives evidence of such a man. It is in its spirit and tone as welcome as a draught of pure water to a traveller who has journeyed many days over hot and putrid marshes." *Pennsylvania Freeman*, June 18, 1850.

This speech called forth letters from Charles Sumner, Rev. William H. Furness, John G. Palfrey, Lewis Tappan and many others, the first of which is here given :

Boston, June 6, 1850.

My Dear Sir:

I am obliged to you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your speech. I am more grateful to you still for making it. You have gone over the whole field of the slavery question and have presented in a most interesting manner the true conclusions. Few have treated it in the same exhaustive manner. I hope your speech will be widely circulated. The knowledge it contains, its temper, and its conclusions, cannot fail to influence all who read it.

We had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Julian here during the winter. I hope that her account of our frigid region will not discourage you from making us a visit also. I can promise you a warm welcome from the heart, whatever the climate may be.

The old parties seem now, more than ever, in a state of dissolution. The cry will soon be

Mingle, mingle,
Ye that mingle may.

At least so it looks from many indications. But we have a clear course to pursue—to stick to our principles wherever they may carry us.

I have not heard lately from Mr. Giddings, but trust that he is well.

Believe me dear sir,

Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.⁹

9. Julian *Letters*. "I get a lot of letters every day commending my speech and describing its good effect on friend and foe, and am really becoming so used to being praised that I don't mind it much! I spend much time in franking copies to individuals who still keep ordering it. I have partially converted my Carolina relatives and am sending a quantity to them for distribution." Letter to Mrs. Julian, June 26, 1850.

Early in the year 1850 Mrs. Julian had paid a visit to friends in Massachusetts and about June 1st she returned to Indiana. In her husband's daily letters to her, often brief and dashed off hastily at night, but breathing the atmosphere of the Washington of that time, he dwells on the doings of Congress and the tedium of the weary weeks of that longest session yet known. It was particularly distasteful to the Free Soil members, because while entirely disapproving of the measures that were slowly being enacted they were nevertheless powerless to do more than protest. He tells of the walks and games of ten-pins of Giddings, Allen and himself, of their attendance at Presidential levees, of the calls they made together and the calls received in return, of their "endeavors after" a better boarding place, of the "feats in gallantry and wonderful adventures" of Senator [Charles] Durkee, the Wisconsin member of the Free Soil coterie, and himself, also of their foot-races on the green and visits to Mrs. Southworth, of Dr. Bailey's receptions and the interesting persons met there. On July 13th he described the funeral of President Taylor, the most magnificent pageant Washington had ever witnessed, and declares that notwithstanding the severe things he had said about the old General he had come to have sincere respect for his rugged honesty and the firmness with which he had opposed the dictates of his southern friends on the question of the admission of California; for it was

generally understood that he had sorely offended them by this action.

One feels conscious in reading these communications that it was a very different world from ours, a far less complex, but not a better world, over which brooded constantly the threatening shadow of civil war. The almost universal drinking disgusted him, as did the prevailing and apparently unnoticed profanity even among educated and otherwise cultivated people. On September 9th he describes the public rejoicing over the passage of the Texas Boundary bill, the New Mexico Territorial bill, the latter an open abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, and the bill for the admission of California. "On Saturday night one hundred guns were fired in honor of the great southern triumph, and the whole city was in an uproar of glorification. Stands were erected and large crowds assembled to hear the speaking. The impression seems to be that the Free Soilers and their principles are dead and buried, and that no more 'agitation' will ever be heard of. We shall see."¹⁰

On September 14th Charles Francis Adams wrote Julian from Quincy:

"The consummation of the iniquities of this most disgraceful session of Congress is now reached. I know not how much the people will bear. My faith in their moral sense is very much shaken. They have been so often debauched by

10. Julian *Letters*.

profligate politicians that I know not whether a case of breach of promise will lie against their seducers. Yet I do hope that our true and staunch men of *all* sides will consent so far to overlook party lines as to unite in a joint address giving a naked history of the events of the session and leaving it to the judgment of all honest people to act as they shall think proper. If this cannot be done, then our Free Soil band has a duty to perform. I pray that they may not leave it undone.”¹¹

Adams’ reference in the first sentence was to the most shocking of all these measures, the new Fugitive Slave law, which was hurried through the House on September 12th without reference to any committee, without being printed, and with no opportunity for debate. This measure, far more objectionable than the Fugitive Slave law of 1793,¹² provided among other things that every citizen, when called upon by the proper officer, should actively aid in the capture of a fugitive slave. In his speech on “The Healing Measures”, on September 25th, Julian dealt with some of the worst features of the Clay Compromise, the passage of the Fugitive Slave bill being the immediate occasion of his utterance. Replying to the charge that those who voted against the Texas Boundary bill voted for civil war, he said:

11. Julian *Letters*, Sept. 14, 1850.

12. *Laws of the U. S. of America*, Feb. 12, 1793, Vol. II, Chap. 152, p. 331. “The mere statement of the provisions of this law is its condemnation.” Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 186.

“Mr. Chairman, I deprecate war as much as any gentleman on this floor. I claim to be an humble advocate of the great peace movement of the age. I stand opposed to the war spirit and the war mania in all their popular manifestations. . . . And yet I will not deny that I think war sometimes necessary. I must say that I believe there are things more to be dreaded. The betrayal of sacred trusts is worse than war; shrinking from a just responsibility when necessary to encounter it is worse than war; the extension of slavery by the Federal government and with the approval of the nation, I should pronounce worse than war; and to be more specific, war is *less* to be deplored than the dastardly and craven spirit which would prompt the representatives of twenty millions of people to cower and turn pale at the bandit threats of Texan slaveholders, and give them millions of acres and millions of gold as a peace-offering to the vandal spirit of slaveholding aggression.”¹³

In regard to the admission of New Mexico and Utah with or without slavery as the people of those territories might determine, he declared:

“My honorable colleague has discovered that the Wilmot Proviso was ‘conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity’. Does he understand the import of the term? Does he not know that it means simply the right of a whole people, whether of a State or Territory, to the common

13. *Globe*, Sept. 25, 1850 Vol. XXII, Pt. II, App. p. 1300.

blessing of freedom? In its application to our Territories the Wilmot Proviso is the Declaration of Independence embodied in a fundamental law for their government. Our fathers declared that 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' are among the inalienable rights of men, and that 'governments are instituted to *secure* these rights, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed'. Make these truths operative in the Territories by the competent law-making power, and you have the Wilmot Proviso, call it by whatever name you choose. Instead of being 'conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity', it was conceived in the brains of such patriots as Sir Harry Vane and Algernon Sidney, in the time of the English Commonwealth, and finally brought forth in the glorious fruits of our own Revolution in 1776. It is the very life-blood of our freedom; and although for the present its friends are powerless, they should stand by it and maintain it as long as they retain their faith in the rights of man and the duty of government to provide guards for their security. And I desire to say too that did I feel as confident as some gentlemen profess to feel that slavery in any event will not obtain a foothold in our Territories, I would still insist on the Proviso as a wholesome and needful reassertion in the present crisis of the principles on which the government was founded and was designed to be administered,—as a means of restoring it to its early policy and animating it anew with the breath of freedom

which bore our fathers through their conflict and made us an independent nation. It is peculiarly an American principle and devotion to it should be as honorable to an American citizen as his abandonment of it should be disgraceful. And if there is one circumstance connected with my service in the present Congress to which in after years I shall look back with pleasure and with pride, it is that in the midst of the false lights and false alarms and seductive influences by which the ranks of freedom have been thinned and the policy of Jefferson trampled under foot, I insisted to the last on the duty of Congress to protect our infant Territories from inroads of slavery by positive law.”¹⁴

Referring to the provisions of the new Fugitive Slave Law, and especially the one compelling citizens of the free States to assist in the capture of run-away slaves, he said:

“Mr. Chairman, I tell these southern gentlemen and their northern brethren that for one, I would resist the execution of this latter provision, if need be at the peril of my life. I am sure that my constituents will resist it. I repeat what I said on a former occasion, that there is no earthly power that can induce us thus to take sides with the oppressor. If I believed the people I represent were base enough to become the miserable flunkies of a God-forsaken southern slave-hunter by joining him or his constables in the bloodhound

14. *Ibid.* p. 1301.

chase of a panting slave, I would scorn to hold a seat on this floor by their suffrages and would denounce them as fit subjects themselves for the lash of the slave driver. Sir, they will do no such thing, and I give notice now to our southern brethren that their newly vamped Fugitive Slave bill cannot be executed in that portion of Indiana which I have the honor to represent.”¹⁵

After asserting that it would be as easy to reverse the currents of the Mississippi as to control those moral forces by which American slavery must perish, he concluded:

“Gentlemen may quarrel about Pennsylvania iron and New England manufactures, river and harbor improvements and the best disposition of the public lands; but the question which more than all others comes home to the bosoms of men is whether slavery or freedom shall have the ascendancy in this government. ‘I never would have drawn my sword in defense of America’ said General Lafayette, ‘if I had thought that I was thereby founding a land of slaves’. Here, sir, lies the great question, and it must be met. Neither acts of Congress nor the devices of partisans can postpone or evade it. It will have itself answered. I am aware that it involves the bread and butter of whole hosts of politicians, and I do not marvel at their attempts to escape it, to smother it, to hide it from the eyes of the people, and to dam up the moral tide which is forcing it

15. *Ibid.*

upon them. Neither do I marvel at their firing of guns and bacchanalian libations over 'the dead body of the Wilmot'. Such labors and rejoicings are by no means unnatural; but they will be followed by disappointment. It is in vain to expect peace by continued concessions to an institution which is becoming every hour more and more a stigma upon the nation, and which instead of seeking new conquests and new life should be preparing itself with grave-clothes for a decent exit from the world . . . When the action of the Federal government shall be entirely withdrawn from the support of slavery and the states in which it exists shall be content with the protection which their own laws shall afford, then agitation may cease. Sooner than that it cannot and it ought not."¹⁶

This speech received numerous complimentary notices and was widely copied. Its clear-cut and uncompromising deliverances made for its author many new friends, particularly in the New England States, whither, in response to urgent invitations, he went on the adjournment of Congress, tarrying en route for a brief visit with James and Lucretia Mott in Philadelphia. He attended the Free Soil State convention in Boston, where he heard for the first time Charles Sumner, already talked of as Webster's successor in the Senate of the United States, Charles Francis Adams, Van Buren's running mate in the campaign of 1848,

16. *Ibid.* p. 1302.

young Anson Burlingame, only four years out of Harvard, but destined to distinguished honors, and Dr. John G. Palfrey, historian and one of Giddings' close associates in the previous Congress. He himself also addressed the convention, setting forth the infamous character of the Compromise measures and appealing to the people to put in power men who would be faithful to freedom and their own consciences.¹⁷

While in Boston he called on Theodore Parker, whom he was surprised to find conducting a prayer-meeting, and also at the office of *The Liberator* where, in Garrison's absence he was entertained by his faithful coadjutor, Stephen S. Foster, dubbed by Lowell "a kind of maddened John the Baptist", with whom he discussed non-resistance. He also heard Jenny Lind to his great delight, and dined in company with Burlingame at the old Adams mansion in Quincy, where there seemed to the Hoosier "too much ceremony", a comment that provokes a smile in view of the words of Mr. Adams' son Henry sixty years later to the effect that "a simpler manner of life and thought could hardly exist short of cave-dwelling."¹⁸ Julian's next stop was at Salem as the guest of Stephen C. Phillips, who on his retirement from Congress in 1838 had served four years as mayor of this his native city, devoting

17. "The speech of Mr. Julian, one of the noble little band in Congress who have been faithful among the faithless, was warmly received by the convention. His presence was welcomed by enthusiastic cheering." *Boston Commonwealth*, October 10, 1850.

18. *The Education of Henry Adams*, p. 10.

his entire salary to the improvement of its public schools, and had been the Free Soil candidate for Governor in 1849. Although he had given up political life, he was keenly interested in the cause that was then uppermost in the minds of all these men. At Lynn, Julian was surprised to find himself advertised along with Wendell Phillips and Charles S. Burleigh to address an anti-Fugitive Slave Law meeting that day, a meeting presided over by the mayor, John B. Alley, who was to serve the cause of freedom with him in the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth Congresses.

After a brief visit at the home of Judge Charles Allen in Worcester, Julian hastened home to Centerville, from which he had been absent more than ten months, and one is not surprised that the village impressed him as "dingy and dilapidated" and "a lonesome place". He of course enjoyed his little domestic circle, the reunion with friends, and the rest from excitement; but his adventures in the larger world had insensibly dwarfed the old familiar surroundings, which would never again assume their one-time imposing appearance. It is noteworthy that his interest in the slavery question was the means of bringing him in contact with the intellectual and moral salt of the earth in our country at that period, and the friendships thus formed were destined to endure and to exercise a shaping influence on his later life.

Returning to Washington for the opening of the second session of the thirty-first Congress on

December 2, 1850, he at once devoted considerable time to the land question which had first challenged his attention some years before. A common interest in this subject had brought him during the previous session into close touch with Andrew Johnson, Representative from Tennessee, who had introduced a bill providing free homesteads of a hundred and sixty acres each to actual landless settlers on certain conditions of occupancy and improvement, and when Julian's Homestead speech was ready for delivery it was through Johnson's friendly help that he obtained the floor on January 29, 1851, in opposition to the wish of Speaker Cobb.¹⁹ Although the doctrines set forth by the Indiana member met with scant favor at that time, being only a little less objectionable than Abolitionism itself, the speech undoubtedly played its part in preparing the way for the Homestead Bill which became a law eleven years later.²⁰ The radical defect of the bill finally passed was the failure to provide against the sale of the public lands in large bodies to non-residents for speculative purposes. To remedy this defect, Julian labored for years in an effort to have an amendment passed, as abundantly appears from a perusal of his published speeches.

This speech of 1851 on the Homestead Bill is notable for its thorough and lucid exposition of the subject and for its tone of faith in the ulti-

19. *Globe*, Jan. 29, 1851, Vol. XXIII, p. 365, 2nd Sess. 31st Cong.

20. *Acts of Cong.* 37th Cong, 2nd Sess. Ch. 75, p. 392, May 20, 1862.

mate triumph of the principles for which he contended. There were at that time some fourteen hundred million acres of public lands, the management of which devolved by the Constitution on Congress, and its just disposition presented a grave question. The Homestead Bill under consideration contemplated a radical change of policy in that it abandoned the idea of holding the public domain as a source of revenue and likewise the policy of further grants to the states or to chartered companies for special objects, and made it free, in limited portions, to actual settlers on condition of occupancy and improvement. Of the more than one hundred million acres already sold by the government through the several land offices, about half had already fallen into the hands of speculators who were holding it without improvement, thus excluding actual settlers who would have made it a source of wealth to themselves while adding to the public revenue.²¹

The bill appealed to him as an anti-slavery measure. Should it become a law, the poor white laborers of the South as well as of the North would flock to the Territories, where labor would be respectable, our democratic theory of equality would be put in practice, closely associated communities would be established as well as a system of common schools offering to all equal educational opportunities. He insisted that a new sacredness would be given to the home, and the broad shield

21. *Globe*, 31st Cong. 2nd Sess. App. p. 135.

of the government would be thrown over that greatest and most beneficent of all institutions, the family. A student of history and philosophy, Julian's utterances here as elsewhere were enriched and his positions illustrated and supported by references to high authorities, while his sympathy with the toiler, the man on whom fall the heaviest burdens, was manifest. In view of later legislation in aid of agriculture and the education of the farmer the following sentences appear prophetic:

"Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration possesses one recommendation which I think worthy of special consideration. It gives encouragement to a business which more than any other promotes the happiness of those engaged in it, whilst it favors the prosperity of the whole country. No other occupation perhaps is so well calculated to inspire trust in the Creator and charity toward his creatures. The pleasures and virtues of rural life have been the theme of poets and philosophers in all ages. The tillage of the soil was the primeval employment of man. Of all arts it is the most useful and necessary. It has justly been styled the nursing mother of the State; for in civilized countries all are equally dependent upon it for the means of subsistence, since hunger and nakedness are universal wants. It is estimated that nearly three-fourths of the labor and capital of the country are employed in this single pursuit; and that agriculturists themselves are a

large majority of the voters, tax-payers, and consumers of all foreign and domestic goods. Is not such an employment deserving of the care of Congress? The cultivation of the soil is an obligation imposed upon man by nature; and this fact alone would seem to impose upon government the obligation to encourage it to the full extent of its power. When so much is done by direct legislation for other interests is it not fair that the one paramount to them all should be aided?

“The public domain has been a common fund to which the government has resorted for almost every variety of object; but not a single acre has ever been granted for the benefit of agriculture. Such a phenomenon as an appropriation for experimental farms, or agricultural colleges, has never been known. Is the cultivation of the soil an occupation so contemptible, so useless to the state, as not to demand the attention of the government? The encouragement of manufactures, of commerce, and of other less important interests is to be commended; but is not the encouragement of agriculture, the parent of them all, at least equally important?”²²

Mr. Julian returned to Indiana immediately on adjournment, March 4th, and his recorded reflections show that he felt reasonably satisfied with his course. In this his first Congress he had taken a position among the outspoken antagonists of slavery; he had enunciated ideas on the subject of

22. *Ibid.* p. 137.

land reform that however unpopular at the time, he felt sure were right and must eventually prevail; life had been diversified, sometimes painfully so, but he had a consciousness that its conflicts were necessary to progress and he was far from regretting them. He did not disguise from himself the fact that inexperienced as he was he must have made mistakes; but he had honestly tried to do his duty and always counted it a privilege and an honor to have shared in the great conflict between liberty and her foes during that memorable crisis.

A subject that strongly appealed to him was that of international peace, and but for the extreme length of the first session of this Congress, December 1849 to September 1850, he would probably have carried out his intention to attend the World's Peace Convention in Germany in August of the latter year. Disappointed in this expectation he looked forward to the London Peace Congress the year following, but by that time he was in the thick of another political race which rendered such a venture out of the question. It seems likely that his Quaker inheritance and environment were largely responsible for his early stand on this question, a position strengthened by his reading of Hugo Grotius' great work on "*Peace and War*" and by other books of a kindred nature.

CHAPTER V

*Defeated for Renomination to Congress—Oliver
P. Morton—‘Carrying On’—Temperance—
Free Soil National Convention, 1852—
Nominated for Vice President—In-
cidents of the campaign—“The
State of Political Parties.”*

Before the close of the session Julian wrote to his wife: “I see you expect to drive around with me in canvassing the district next summer, but I think the prospect much better for quitting politics entirely. I mean to take the straightforward course without regard to consequences.”¹ Those who had stood out against the Compromise measures and who continued to rebuke the pro-slavery reaction of the times did not face a rosy prospect so far as political honors were concerned. It was a trying period for anti-slavery men, only the most earnest of whom were able to withstand the temptation to acquiesce in the popular verdict that agitation against the institution had at last been silenced. Press, pulpit and politicians were practically a unit in commending the “final settlement” of the question that had so long troubled the country and in branding as fanatics and dangerous members of society those who insisted that the end was not yet. This was true all over the

1. Letter to Anne Elizabeth Julian, January 9, 1850.

north, but in no State was it more difficult to withstand Hunker sentiment than in Indiana, whose large southern population naturally colored the political atmosphere.

That the fighting blood of his ancestors had not lost its quality and that his zeal in behalf of the cause he had espoused only increased as he saw the dire straits into which it had apparently fallen, is shown by Julian's resolve to enter upon a second race for Congress, backed by his Free Soil friends, against his former opponent, Samuel W. Parker, the nominee of the Whigs. It is quite probable that he would again have been successful too, because Parker in his enthusiastic support of the Compromise utterly repudiated his anti-slavery professions of two years before, had it not been for the fierce hostility of the *Indiana State Sentinel*, edited by William J. Brown,² reinforced by a formidable local opposition headed by Oliver P. Morton. The latter succeeded in getting up a Democratic meeting in Centerville to consider the situation, having announced that Hon. Jesse D. Bright would deliver an address and publicly condemn further coalition with the Free Soilers. Senator Bright did not put in an appearance, but Morton and others spoke, denouncing abolitionism, praising the Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law, and in-

2. Born Nov. 22, 1805, Kentucky; moved to Indianapolis, Ind., and was elected Secretary of State 1836-37; elected to 28th Congress 1843-45; Assistant Postmaster-General, 1845-49; re-elected to 31st Congress, 1849-51. Editor, *Indiana State Sentinel*. Died Mar. 18, 1857.

sisting upon a convention for the purpose of naming a regular Democratic candidate for Congress. The convention was duly held in Cambridge City, its decision however, being against such a nomination, which did not prevent the individuals thus overruled from openly espousing the cause of Parker, an unrelenting foe of the Democratic party for years, in whose behalf they labored zealously.³

Brown's vindictive spirit was directly traceable to Julian's having revealed his true character to Giddings and other Free Soilers at the time of the Speakership contest in December, 1849, and he now joined Senator Bright in stumping Wayne County for Parker. Morton's antagonism was likewise not difficult to explain. A member of the Democratic party, this embryo political giant had denounced the Wilmot Proviso in 1848, believed in and accepted the Compromise of 1850 as a finality, and voted for that provision of the Indiana Constitution of 1851 excluding negroes from the state and punishing those who encouraged them to remain.⁴ Born only a few miles apart, mingling in the same society, members of the same bar, Julian and Morton had been friends until radical differences on the slavery question brought about a breach which for several years had been widening under the favoring influence of politics. Totally unlike in temperament, both intellectually gifted and both ambitious, they well

3. Julian's *Journal*, Aug. 5, 1851.

4. Foulke's *Life of Morton*, Vol. 1, pp. 30-35.

exemplified two elements always present in public life and always at odds, and that their ways must sooner or later diverge was inevitable. Parker was elected at the end of a struggle quite as bitter as that of two years before, which Julian afterwards characterized as creditable neither to the chief participants nor to the methods of political warfare of that day. On August 22nd he wrote Giddings who awaited the result with anxiety:

“Contrary to the general expectation I was defeated in the late election. The Free Soilers stood by me with unsurpassed zeal and devotion. Some hundreds of Whigs supported me who opposed me two years ago, and the *mass* of the Democrats were true; but they had among them a sufficient number of miserable Hunkers to turn the scale against me. I mention these facts lest you may imagine my defeat to have been in some way or other attributable to myself. I have more real friends than at any former period.

“I am preparing to go back to my books and my business and shall lose nothing by defeat except a little mortified pride. Indeed I have found defeat far less terrible than the apprehension of it. I do however seriously regret that the only district in this benighted State where Free Soilism was thought to have any vitality is now represented by a man who obtained his seat by declaring everywhere on the stump that he was “in favor of the Fugitive Slave law without the alteration of a letter.” When you think of this, and also by how large a vote we have determined upon

the colonization and exclusion of negroes you will be able to form some idea of what a pack of saints we Hoosiers must be!"⁵

To this Giddings replied: "Thanks for the noble fight you have made. I well knew you had the matter in you, notwithstanding your Quakerism, which by the way I begin to think is the best part of you. I had seen by the papers that your defeat was caused by a union of the Hunkers of both parties. I am pleased to see that your political strength is unimpaired. We shall want it put forth next year in the most effective manner. I do not see that you should feel the least mortification at your defeat. We regard it as a triumph here. The times are developing our real strength, the strength of freedom. Those who stand by us now are reliable at all times. Your opponent, though successful now, will be ashamed of his advocacy of the Fugitive Slave Law before his two years shall have expired."⁶

That other anti-slavery men likewise deeply regretted Julian's defeat a number of letters bore witness, while there was general rejoicing among the friends of compromise who did not look beneath the surface. From Kenosha, Wisconsin, Senator Charles Durkee sent this message: "You have suffered a defeat, it is true, in one sense of the word, but in the higher and more glorious sense, where truth always triumphs over error, you are really victorious, and will be so long as

5. *Julian Letters*, Aug. 22, 1851.

6. *Ibid*, Aug. 27, 1851.

you continue bold and aggressive against the wrong. This temporary respite is designed only to strengthen you for a more valiant fight, where the enemy shall be entirely routed and driven from the field.”⁷ And Sumner wrote, on taking his seat as Webster’s successor after a long and exciting contest: “Would that you were here! I counted much on your presence, and mourn the fickleness of your constituents.”⁸

In dealing with the decade of unofficial life on which Julian now entered, the first thing to be noted is his resolve to give up politics and devote himself assiduously to his profession;⁹ and the second is his total failure to carry out this resolution. He reopened his law office, but the subject of slavery had so taken possession of him that in spite of all efforts to the contrary it permitted only a divided allegiance to the affairs of private business. In response to Giddings’ urging and his own inclination he attended a Free Soil national convention in Cleveland September 24, 1851, the object of which was to confer upon the general situation and the duty of anti-slavery men. The presidency of this convention was offered Julian, but his “foolish timidity” led him to decline, although he accepted the chairmanship of the reso-

7. *Ibid.* Sept. 9, 1851.

8. *Ibid.* Dec. 7, 1851.

9. “I am done with politics and intend to practice law. But there is likely to be need for a Free Soil party for some time to come, and it may be that in 1852 I shall be again on the stump, battling for John P. Hale, Joshua R. Giddings, or some other true man. Certain I am that I shall never desert the cause I have espoused.” *Julian’s Journal*, Aug. 21, 1851.

lutions committee and came away with renewed courage and zeal.

In January 1852, he took the lead in calling Free Soil conventions in his own county (Wayne) for the purpose of encouraging independent action looking to the holding of a state convention a little later. It seemed to him that if men could only be aroused to a sufficient interest in the anti-slavery cause to grasp its real significance, and if they could be made to see the present position of the Whig and Democratic parties as alike the allies of slavery, their allegiance to these parties must be weakened and the cause of freedom proportionately strengthened. He spoke twice at a three-days' anti-slavery convention in Cincinnati in April along with Frederick Douglass, the Rev. John G. Fee and others, and perhaps never were his words more pointed or prophetic.¹⁰ He insisted that northern Whigs and Democrats by their espousal of the slave interest as a great national concern were levying war against the institutions of their fathers, who in their day took measures for the extinction of slavery in a majority of the States, whilst they believed it was rapidly perishing in the remainder. "They excluded it from every inch of territory then belonging to the gov-

10. "I was offered the presidency of this convention also, which I declined in favor of John G. Fee, but was unexpectedly appointed a vice-president, along with Douglass, Bigg and others of different color. I am glad I attended this truly catholic anti-slavery gathering. I was delighted with the oratory of Douglass and with the man himself, and feel much strengthened in my desire to overcome the ridiculous and wicked prejudice against color which even most anti-slavery men find it difficult to conquer." Julian's *Journal*, May 5, 1852.

ernment [Territory of the Northwest] and limited to twenty years the importation of slaves from abroad, which they regarded as the life of the system. They were Abolitionists, though their process of abolition was gradual. But Whigs and Democrats today preach a totally different gospel . . . If there are incendiaries in this government, those who would destroy the Union by building up 'sectional parties', they are the leaders and tools of these factions who are endeavoring to make slavery and not freedom its cornerstone and to restore concord between things totally irreconcilable in their nature. If there is such a crime as 'moral treason', it is perpetrated by every Whig and Democrat who refuses to sever himself from his faithless organization and labor by every honorable effort to bring its rule to an end. Not for all the offices which this slaveholding government could bestow upon all the 'Dough-faces' from Maine to the Pacific would I commit my judgment and conscience to the keeping of either of these profligate factions."¹¹

Having established the complicity of both the leading parties in the sin of slavery, he next proceeded to show the recreancy of the church in an equal degree. "The preachers and members of our Protestant denominations alone own more than six hundred thousand slaves. . . Even our tract, missionary and Sunday School associations, those mighty agencies for the diffusion of

11. Julian's *Speeches*, pp. 78-79.

Christian truth, are under slaveholding espionage. The scissors of the peculiar institution must be applied to their publications, which must be so carved and mangled as not to send forth even an intimation that freedom is a blessing or slavery a curse." In answer to the plea that schisms would be created by any other course, he continued: "Is the church rent in twain when a religious denomination is divided? On the contrary, I hold that we should welcome divisions where they proceed from an honest and faithful endeavor to apply Christianity to all known sins. The unity of the church demands the breaking up of outward organizations when they espouse and persist in upholding a great wrong. Who believes that Christianity would be blotted out if every overshadowing hierarchy in the land were broken into fragments? The cause of true religion, instead of being mortally wounded, might even be advanced. The free spirit of congregationalism, strengthened by the shock, might stand up stronger than ever as a breakwater against ecclesiastical tyranny in future; for centralization is not less an evil in religious than in civil matters. The great body of the people, freed from priestly rule and strong in their religious yearnings, would gather together in smaller flocks under their chosen shepherds, and thus a *free* church, armed with every available instrumentality for good, would be found laboring in the cause of Christ, and boldly smiting every form of sin.

"The church, I fully believe, is to redeem the race. But as in ancient days, so now, the work of reform must begin outside of existing systems, beyond the shadow of our ruling church judicatories, among the great body of the people. We must not commence with the chief priests and rulers, who are always ready to crucify reform, but like Fox and Wesley take our stand in the midst of the multitude, who have no other interest than to find and embrace the truth.

"If we make our appeal to them, and wisely and faithfully labor, we shall triumph. The ruling powers in church and State, like Pilate and Herod, may combine against us, but we shall be sustained. The strong blasts of the world may oppose us, but we shall be wafted onwards by 'the trade-winds of Heaven'. 'One strong thing I find here below, the just thing, the true thing'. And a great consolation to Abolitionists it is, that few in numbers, hated of the world, branded as fanatics, incendiaries and mad-men, they yet have a perfect assurance, a faith running over with fulness, that an Almighty arm will crown with ultimate success their humble and sincere strivings for freedom and humanity."¹²

One is not surprised, on reading this speech, that more than one person in the audience took it for granted that Julian was a minister of the gospel; and reflecting on the solid front presented by both the Whig and Democratic parties in 1852

12. *Ibid.* p. 82.

and the apparent 'finality' of the famous Compromise, it is evident that it required almost as much courage thus to arraign them as it had done to break away from his party four years before. At the State Free Soil convention in Indianapolis on May 17th he spoke in much the same vein as at Cincinnati, urging the duty of maintaining the Free Soil organization, not for the sake of the offices but in order to provide a rallying point for the opponents of slavery extension.¹³ There were two kinds of Abolitionists. One followed the lead of Garrison and Phillips and insisted on fighting slavery solely with moral weapons; this class deprecated political action, some even going so far as to advocate disunion and to call the Constitution of the United States "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."¹⁴ The other class,

13. The Indianapolis newspapers paid little attention to Free Soil activities at this time. The organ of the Whig party, the *Daily Journal*, said of this convention: "The State Free Soil Convention was in session Tuesday with Andrew L. Robinson of Evansville in the chair. We noticed in attendance George W. Julian, S. S. Harding, M. R. Hull and other distinguished advocates of Free Soilism. Delegates were appointed to attend the National Convention to be held at Cleveland on the first Wednesday in August. (The convention met in Pittsburgh, August 11.) Of the delegates chosen we heard mention(ed) the names of A. L. Robinson, S. C. Stevens, J. P. Milliken, J. H. Cravens, S. S. Harding, George W. Julian, M. R. Hull, Ovid Butler, John B. Semans, H. L. Ellsworth, C. B. Crocker and several lesser lights. Resolutions were adopted in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law and the 13th Article of the State Constitution; favoring the freedom of the public lands; declaring that the anti-slavery party is not a sectional party, but for the Union; and asserting that the Democratic and Whig parties had outlived the measures which brought them into existence and that they were mere factions." *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 20, 1852.

14. William Lloyd Garrison.

hating slavery quite as intensely, would not interfere with it in states where it was already established, but sought to prohibit its spread into regions over which the general government had exclusive jurisdiction, that is, in the territories and the District of Columbia. They would have the government divorce itself absolutely from slavery by refusing to be a party to the recapture of runaway slaves. They believed that the institution, thus shut in, could not long endure. The old Liberty party men of 1840 and 1844 were Abolitionists of this class. So were Free Soilers like Giddings and Julian.

The great temperance crusade was then for the first time making itself felt in the middle west, and while in Indianapolis Julian delivered an address on the subject, by invitation, in the Hall of Representatives,¹⁵ advocating legislation similar to the celebrated law of Maine. He would treat the dealer in strong drink with the same rigorous justice as was meted out to other offenders. "Let his accursed poison, wherever it can be found, be poured into the gutter along with other filth, whilst he is marched off to answer to the charge of a crime against society; and let him distinctly understand that when once caught in the toils of this law no art can elude, no arm can save, no hand can deliver." The sweeping program then and there set forth by him caused a smile in later years, for he came to believe that

15. *Indiana Daily Journal*, May 21, 1852.

the temperance reform was a many-sided one, involving the general improvement of the conditions of life and to distrust all legislation that lost sight of this fact. "We must reform our land policy", said he, "and thus facilitate the acquisition of homes by the poor. We must curtail the remorseless power of corporate wealth. We must legislate for the rights of labor rather than the prerogatives of capital. We must educate the masses and equalize their opportunities. We must have better household training. The magnitude of the temperance movement in this comprehensive sense cannot be overstated, but it gives countenance to no scheme of fanaticism. Its friends have little faith in any legislative short-cut to the virtue of temperance, but rely chiefly upon time, toil and patience in dealing with the essential conditions of progress. They comprehend the logic of their work and its inevitable limitations, and only expect the final overthrow of the fabric of intemperance by undermining its foundations."¹⁶

The spectacle of the old parties in their national conventions "bowing low before their southern masters" and acquiescing in the Compromise seems not to have disturbed Julian. He had foreseen and publicly foretold this. He liked to face an issue sharply drawn; under such circumstances his course was clear. But when he found men like John A. Dix, Robert Rantoul, Preston King,

16. Unpublished *Autobiography*.

John Van Buren, Horace Greeley and William Cullen Bryant, who had supported the Free Soil ticket four years before, mustering under the Democratic banner, he was both puzzled and dismayed. In his opinion there was more reason for outspoken opposition than there had been in 1848 when these men had boldly defied the slave power. He continued to give utterance to his convictions on every possible occasion during the summer, and looked forward with eager interest to the National Free Soil convention at Pittsburgh in August, which however he was prevented by professional engagements from attending, although he had been chosen a delegate at the State convention. "I am sure", he wrote, "that those who go will ever after regard it as marking an era in their lives and a new baptism in the religion of freedom. I trust it will breathe fresh spirit into our drooping cause. I long to see the calm broken; it is becoming oppressive and suffocating. We must stir the stagnant waters."¹⁷

This convention, over which Henry Wilson of Massachusetts presided,¹⁸ adopted a platform denouncing the Fugitive Slave law, slavery extension and the other Compromise measures and declaring that 'emigrants and exiles from the old world should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new', and that 'any attempt to abridge their privilege of

17. *Julian's Journal*, Aug. 5, 1852.

18. B. 1812; d. 1875. U.S. Senator 1855-75. Vice-President 1873-75. Author, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*.

becoming citizens ought to be resisted with inflexible determination'. It then proceeded to nominate John P. Hale of New Hampshire¹⁹ and George W. Julian of Indiana for President and Vice president of the United States. No non-miraculous event could have been more surprising to the Hoosier thus honored than his own nomination. He had expected that Samuel Lewis of Ohio, for whom the Indiana delegates had been instructed to vote, would be the vice-presidential nominee. He probably would have been but for the opposition of Salmon P. Chase whose enmity Lewis had somehow incurred. There is no doubt that Julian's pleasure in receiving this distinction was marred by the consciousness of Lewis' disappointment and his conviction that the latter really deserved it by reason of his long and unselfish service.²⁰ He at once wrote Mr. Lewis frankly expressing his views, to which the latter replied:

"You need not feel the least delicacy in reference to any supposed disappointment of myself. I think I was first to name you and I could not be better pleased at the nomination. I have known from the beginning that men who labor as I have done in season and out of season, refusing to join any cliques for temporary or personal objects, could not be favorites with politicians. . . . An impression had been made upon a few dele-

19. B. 1806; d. 1873. Congressman 1843-45. U.S. Senator 1847-53; also 1855-65. Minister to Spain 1865-69.

20. Julian's *Journal*.

gates from other states that the Free Democracy of this state was divided between me and a certain gentleman, and that that gentleman and his friends would not support the ticket with my name on it. . . . Again these same gentlemen assumed that Mr. Hale would not accept if my name was on the ticket because of my ultraism.

"Your friends know and can tell you the terms in which I spoke of you to those who were strangers to you and how at Cleveland at a ratification meeting I appealed to my friends to vote for you as they would have done for me. . . . I may or may not live to see our cause triumph, but in any event my name will be forgotten among the thousands who have spent their lives and estates in forwarding the cause of human liberty while those who have watched the signs of the times and shaped their course so as to fill their sails with the wind that we have raised will inscribe their names on the pages of history as leaders in an army where they never fought a battle or suffered a sacrifice. . . .

"And in conclusion I beg you to believe me when I say that I am better satisfied than to have received the nomination. I know you had nothing to do with it and that if present you would have declined, and I now only want to see a heavy vote polled for you and a speedy triumph of the cause of human liberty."²¹

Julian was thirty-five years of age and the can-

21. Julian *Letters*, Aug. 19, 1852.

vass upon which he now entered was one of the most strenuous of his life. He not only covered his own state, but went into Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio, and on the invitation of the Rev. John G. Fee and Cassius M. Clay he also spoke in Bracken, Mason and Lewis counties, Kentucky. "I would not have ventured on this experiment alone" he declared, "but I felt reasonably safe with Clay on the stand beside me, his right hand in the neighborhood of his revolver and ready for any emergency which the exercise of free speech might produce."²² Some of the most picturesque reminiscences of his long life had this Kentucky experience for their setting. The cheerful fortitude of Mr. and Mrs. Fee as they accompanied the speakers on horseback through the mountains in order to help swell the crowds and lend dignity and prestige to the occasion, Clay's blunt humor and his dare-devil spirit, the outlandish accommodations encountered, and the even more outlandish natives,—all lent color to the narration.²³

Three speeches a day constituted the program in this campaign, each from an hour and a half

22. Julian's *Journal*.

23. The following lines entitled "Julian In Kentucky" are from some verses that appeared in *The National Era* (date and author not known).

"Then Julian takes up the plea
Beneath the aegis of the Union's guarantee,
And claims a freeman's rights.
With calm, firm tones, but with unsparing words
He speaks of slavery as the bane and curse
Of bond and free; with bold unfaltering hand

to three hours in length, and as he traveled more than twenty-five hundred miles, by boat, stage, rail and private conveyance as well as on horseback, the experience must have been extremely wearing. But so captivated was he by the cause he advocated and his desire to set it clearly before the people that he felt renewed daily.

While in Detroit he was prevailed on to speak "at early candlelighting" to an audience of negroes. "Their large brick church, holding five or six hundred, was filled and when I entered the high oldfashioned pulpit and cast my eye over the crowd I thought it the *darkest* prospect I had seen in all my travels. I thought of the 'dear Union' of W. J. Brown²⁴ and of what the Indiana 'Doughfaces' would think could they look in upon the scene. I spoke for an hour and a half on the signs of the times, the moral aspects of the slavery question, etc. and was never more favored with the gift of effective utterance. Large numbers wept like children when I portrayed the wrongs of slavery, and I could see that what I said was appreciated as it could be by no white audience."²⁵

He limns the giant monster and holds forth
 Its hideous front before its worshippers,
 And calls on them to cherish the foul thing
 No more. * * *
 Thus speaks he, * * * and lo, loud applause—
 Applause to Freedom from the votaries
 Of slavery—comes like the matin cheer
 Which, midst the darkness, tells the day is near."

24. See p. 92.

25. Julian's *Journal*, Oct. 12, 1852.

After describing successful meetings in Chicago, South Bend and Mishawaka, he adds: "I was treated with great kindness by the Free Soilers in these places; but at Logansport, my next appointment, I was chilled by the coldness of the atmosphere on the subject of freedom. I addressed a miserable Hunkerish crowd in the Court House for more than two hours without making any apparent impression. The town is sunk in heathenism, and I was glad to take the stage for Indianapolis where I arrived next day, finding every corner of every hotel filled by reason of the State Fair then in full blast. [John P.] Hale had been prevailed on in Wisconsin to disappoint Indiana, but I found that Samuel Lewis had taken his place in a masterly speech in the hall of the House of Representatives which everybody was praising. After speaking at night I went to Noblesville, where I addressed a large assembly, though the town is in great darkness. At Westfield next day I spoke in the Quaker meeting-house and was gratified to learn that all the Friends except four are right on politics. I reached Indianapolis again on the 25th [October] and immediately took the cars for Terre Haute, where I had sent an appointment because Mr. Robinson,²⁶ our candidate for governor, had been mobbed in attempting to speak there. I found the town full of rumors that I was to be prevented from speaking and 'Wabashed' if I should attempt

26. Andrew L. Robinson, Vanderburg County.

it. I saw that my friends were uneasy and regretted my coming. They even advised that I go home, but I told them I was determined to speak. Accordingly at my hour I repaired to the Court House where I found a small crowd assembled with restless countenances and a gang of ruffians armed with brickbats. The crowd gradually grew larger and I began speaking, occupying an hour and a half in the plainest kind of talk. I told them I had come there because a friend of mine had been mobbed; that I desired to vindicate free speech and the honor of the town against the rule of ruffians and cut-throats; that there were worse things than mobs, one of which was submission to mob rule; that although they might go so far as to sacrifice my life, that would be a small thing when weighed in the balance against loyalty to a great principle, and that if they desired to mob me the way was open. But I was not molested and there was general joy over the result. Even the most timid grew brave and boasted of the love of order which had induced the people to stand by my rights. Vigo County is decidedly worse today than Bracken County, Kentucky, and but for Joseph O. Jones,²⁷ the post-master, himself a Kentuckian, but a believer in the right of free speech and the duty of maintaining it at all hazards, it is probable that the mob would have

27. Joseph O. Jones, born 1814, in Vermont. Removed to Kentucky, thence to Indiana, in 1816. Spent the greater part of his life in serving as postmaster for Terre Haute. First appointed in 1839 under Van Buren. Also served under Presidents Pierce, Lincoln, Johnson, and Garfield. Died, 1899.

triumphed. My last appointment was at Madison, where I spoke twice on October 31st for more than four hours, and after resting on Sunday took the cars for Knightstown, reaching home by stage on November 2nd in time to consummate my labors by voting for Hale & Co.

“I am now through with politics for a while at any rate and mean to attend industriously to my profession. I am glad to find quiet and repose with my family and friends, but I rejoice that I have battled as I have done. And after all I have seen, I desire to record the confident opinion that if Free Soilers will now go to work and organize as an independent and permanent party, establish presses, employ speakers, circulate facts, make no compromises, and stand unswervingly by their colors, we shall take possession of the government four years hence or eight at the farthest. We have the command of our own fortunes, and shall be answerable for all failures. ‘May God speed the right’.”²⁸

Franklin Pierce, the Democratic nominee, was overwhelmingly elected, receiving two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes to forty-two for his Whig competitor, Winfield Scott; while Hale, the Free Soil candidate, the exponent of the sentiment that was to triumph in the election of Lincoln eight years later, had only about one-twentieth of the entire popular vote and considerably less than the party had mustered four years before. But

28. Julian's *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1852.

Julian was not disconcerted by this result. It was apparent that the Free Soil vote of 1848 had been largely augmented by those Van Burenites who were actuated less by anti-slavery zeal than by hatred of General Cass, and who had this year gone back to the Democratic fold. And he insisted that the true measure of the growth of Free Soil sentiment was a comparison between the results in 1844 and 1852, which showed that its strength had increased almost three-fold and that the outlook was encouraging.

The vote for Hale and Julian in Indiana was more than double that cast for Robinson, the Free Soil candidate for governor. The national Free Soil ticket failed of support in only eight counties, while thirty-six counties gave not a vote for the state candidates. Joseph A. Wright, Democrat, was this year elected governor of Indiana for a second time.

A severe attack of lung fever which laid Julian low for several weeks after the election gave rise to some serious reflections on spiritual subjects and resulted in the formation of a "plan of life", embracing his physical well-being, professional reading and conduct, moral and religious endeavors, and general daily walk. This plan, minutely set forth in his *Journal* and quaintly interesting, he followed closely for more than a year, and although the details later fell into neglect or perhaps were not deemed of sufficient importance to be permanently incorporated into his regular rou-

tine, the good effect of this soul searching and its results never entirely spent its force.

In January, 1853, he was busy organizing Free Soil associations in several of the eastern counties of the State, and in Wayne County, township organizations were effected and spirited meetings held. He again addressed the annual three days' anti-slavery convention in Cincinnati in April of this year, meeting for the first time William Lloyd Garrison, of whom he wrote: "He is no orator, as most persons define the term, no rampant declaimer driving onward by steam, like a Methodist minister; but such depths of feeling and eloquent earnestness I have never witnessed. I am glad to have seen and heard him, and familiarly conversed with him, because I may thus have borrowed a measure of that uncalculating fidelity to truth and that spirit of the martyr which have strengthened his hands in his unparalleled struggle during the past twenty years."²⁹

The State Free Democratic Association (this name seems to have superseded "Free Soil" in Indiana) which met in Indianapolis on May 25, 1853, was addressed by Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and twice by Julian, one of the latter's speeches being published in pamphlet as a tract under the title "The State of Political Parties—The Signs of the Times."³⁰ The signs were evidently propitious in his view. "A genuine, whole-hearted anti-slavery man", said he in the opening

29. *Ibid.* May 5, 1853.

30. *Julian's Speeches*, p. 83.

paragraph, "always believes his cause to be onward. . . . He is not blinded or disheartened by the irregular ebb and flow of political currents or by facts which drift about upon their surface, but he penetrates beneath to those great moral tides which underlie and heave onward the politics, the religion and the whole framework of society. Abolitionists have often been branded as infidels, but I am acquainted with no body of men since the introduction of Christianity who have evinced so strong, so steadfast and so vital a faith in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."³¹

After explaining the small vote for Hale and characterizing in telling fashion the Whig and Democratic parties, he insisted that henceforth the great issue must inevitably be between slavery and freedom, upon which issue the parties of the future must take their stand. He then showed how instead of obedience to the decree of the old parties three years ago that agitation of the slavery question should cease, the intervening months had witnessed more agitation than had been known since the beginning of the anti-slavery crusade, both in the professedly anti-slavery organs and in the secular and religious press.

"Not long after the total suppression of agitation had been resolved on, a woman, having gotten 'out of her sphere', wrote a book which has not only lighted the fires of agitation to an un-

31. *Ibid.* pp. 83, 84.

exampled degree throughout the whole country, but has carried the torch to the ends of the earth. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', the world's greatest missionary of freedom and the harbinger of deliverance to the African race, is the glory not less than the wonder of our age; and it is not strange that Mrs. Stowe should regard it as having risen 'on the mighty stream of a divine purpose'. How many readers has this book in the United States? It is impossible to say with any claim to accuracy; but judging from the number of copies already published and sold and the avidity with which the work has been sought after by all classes and in all sections of the country, I think we may safely set it down at one million. It is more than three times this number according to the *Literary World*, which estimates ten readers to every copy sold. But I desire to speak within bounds:—a million American readers of an American book; a million men and women pouring out their tears over the wrongs of three millions in chains; a million hearts throbbing responsive to the sufferings of the slave. Is this the entertainment to which our finality brethren invited us two or three years ago? Could the most sanguine among us at that time have dreamed of so wonderful a progress? And this million readers of 'Uncle Tom' must swell into millions, and when light has thus found its way to their minds, scattering the mists which have so long shrouded them in cold indifference, and arousing our common humanity

to a sense of the enormity of slavery, the triumph of freedom will draw nigh. The seed will have been planted that *must* bring forth fruit A great moral revolution can never go backwards, because the spirit which sustains it is the spirit of God. As well might we attempt to turn back the tide of civilization and blot out Christianity itself, as to control those quickened moral agencies that are undermining the fabric of American slavery.”³²

His thrusts at colonization, the humbuggery of which he detected early in his study of the slavery question, are only equaled by the clever way in which he demolishes the southern claim that slavery is a noble missionary institution for the conversion of the heathen, and the effect of his words, scattered over the State, can hardly be estimated. That they fell for the most part upon deaf ears by no means signifies that they were unavailing. His hope lay not in the immediate future, but in that slowly awakening public intelligence that would one day look conditions squarely in the face and demand adequate action.

32. *Ibid.* p. 90.

CHAPTER VI

*Professional and Home Life—Throat Cut in Court
—Fugitive Slave Cases—Kansas-Nebraska
Bill—Julian Fights It—Campaign of
1854—Opposes Know Nothing
Movement—Speeches in Cin-
cinnati and Indianapolis
—Letter from
Giddings*

The idea of removing to Indianapolis had more than once presented itself to Julian. His wife particularly desired to take this step, and he records in his *Journal* about this time that Center-ville is “the pink of dullness”. But early associations and a natural reluctance to leave a community about which clustered many tender memories combined to keep them there. The coming of the railroad in the spring of 1853 promised to give new life to the Wayne county-seat as indeed it did.¹ He liked the profession of law and the records show that he commanded his full share of cases in the several courts in spite of the fact that during this decade of his retirement from Congress his attention was much diverted by educational work along political lines. Occasional expressions in letters and journals indicate that he appreciated the need of stricter attention to

1. This was the Indiana Central Railway, from Richmond to Indianapolis, now a part of the Pennsylvania System.

business with a view to providing against a possible rainy day. But he did not belong to the class of which financiers are fashioned, nor had he any genius for accumulation. His tastes and those of Mrs. Julian were simple even for that simple day, and the social demands of Centerville were extremely modest. Books they regarded as among the necessities, and probably their chief extravagance lay in this direction. Their reading and study together, upon which he always looked back as one of the pleasantest and most profitable experiences of his life, could be as well carried on in Centerville as in a larger town, the public library being a development of the future. That he had a natural bias for homefelt pleasures and peaceful scenes there is ample testimony; he liked to beautify his grounds and to work in the garden, and took keen interest in each acquisition of furniture and pictures, while the development of their little boys was a matter of glad concern.

One of those curious instances of political preferment that occasionally diversify American public life and are eagerly seized upon by those who are prone to rail at popular government, occurred in eastern Indiana in the early fifties and may well have furnished an additional argument in favor of removing to a less benighted community. This was the elevation to the bench of the circuit embracing Centerville of one Joseph Anthony, whom William Dudley Foulke characterizes as "a paralytic, an ignorant tavern-keeper of

Muncie, who was unable to decide the plainest propositions of law.”² Anthony had been elected by a combination formed against Jacob B. Julian, the Whig candidate, and had the backing of Oliver P. Morton, whose opinions he frequently consulted, “especially”, says Mr. Foulke, “in matters where Julian took a different view of the case.” Anthony was not only ignorant of law, but personally corrupt, and the court became a farce. Although petitioned by all but one or two of the lawyers to resign, and although the bar of Henry County refused to try cases before him, he doggedly held on to his position till legislative remedies finally terminated the shameful spectacle.

Judge Anthony's court in Centerville was the scene of an exciting episode on February 25, 1854, when Michael Wilson in an altercation with George W. Julian over a case then pending in which he was opposing counsel suddenly made a thrust at the latter's throat with a knife which he had concealed in his sleeve, inflicting a three-inch gash that barely missed the carotid artery. Blood flowed freely, and Julian supposed himself fatally hurt; but although he carried the scar through life the wound was not serious and he was able to go about his business without interruption. Meanwhile Anthony took a week to consider whether the act constituted contempt of court and then fined Wilson twenty-five dollars. An indictment against Wilson at the next term for assault with

2. Foulke's *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 22.

intent to kill was promptly quashed for not containing the word "feloniously." The grand jurors having been discharged, the counsel for the state moved the court to recall them, according to the usage in such cases, so that the omitted word might be inserted, but the motion was overruled, while in another case, a few minutes later, on a motion to quash an indictment for a like omission, the court ruled that the word "feloniously" was not necessary under the new statutes! The counsel for the state then took the case to the Supreme Court on the question involved, and when an adverse decision was finally reached the statute of limitations had intervened. The history of this affair would not be complete without the further statement that Anthony took a rule against Julian to show why he too should not be punished for contempt, to which the latter replied that he was undoubtedly guilty if it were a contempt to have his throat cut by an assassin in open court without provocation on his part; and to the general surprise this did not bring forth a fine. Such were some of the amenities connected with the practice of law in eastern Indiana in those days, and it is not difficult to see that party politics, influenced by the question of slavery, played an important part in this as in sundry other incidents.

A Fugitive Slave case that attracted attention about this time in Indianapolis was that of John Freeman, an alleged runaway to whose identity

and particular brands oath was made by one Pleasant Ellington, who claimed him as his property, and by several other witnesses. The United States Marshal, John L. Robinson, with Ellington, had previously entered the cell where Freeman was confined and compelled him to expose his legs and shoulders, so that it was possible to "swear according to the pattern." But Freeman, although originally from Georgia, had resided in Indianapolis for eight or ten years and had many friends there who insisted on a continuance of the hearing in order to enable him to disprove the charge. Witnesses were accordingly brought from Georgia who had known him there and who knew that he was not a slave, whereupon the case was suddenly dropped by Ellington, who fled while Freeman was preparing to bring suit for false imprisonment. An indignation meeting in Masonic Hall immediately following the trial was considered by Julian who happened to be in town, as too good an opportunity for "agitation" to be passed by, and he delivered a characteristically fiery address. Seated with him on the platform were the five or six slaveholders who had come from Georgia to testify for Freeman, and while he complimented them on their humane and magnanimous spirit he characterized in plain terms the Indiana Doughfaces who had sought to entrap a fellow citizen and send him into slavery. "I poured my shot exclusively upon the north", said he, "as the real culprit in the guilt of

slave aggrandizement, and was gratified to find that neither Bright nor Robinson would speak to me.”³

A case that engaged his attention professionally some months later was that of the United States vs. Waterhouse, the latter being accused of harboring runaway slaves. This too was at Indianapolis, and Richard W. Thompson was employed to assist the District Attorney, while Julian was for the defense, taking occasion, as usual to arraign the Fugitive Slave law with severity. The case was remarkable for the rulings of the court and in being instigated by northern sympathizers with slavery. Waterhouse was found guilty and was sentenced to one hour's imprisonment, which he cheerfully endured in the court room.

Julian's interest in the anti-slavery cause knew no intermission. During the summer and fall of 1853 he went up and down the State giving utterance to the full Free Soil gospel as he understood it, denouncing the Fugitive Slave law as an insult to the humanity of the north and servility to party as “the unclean spirit that must be cast out of the hearts of the people before they can be saved”. He then betook himself to Ohio in behalf of his friend Samuel Lewis, the Free Soil candidate for governor of that commonwealth. All this was laborious, for he spoke five or six hours each day,

3. Julian's *Journal*. Jesse D. Bright had been elected as a Democrat to the U.S. Senate in 1845 and served until 1862 when he was expelled on charges of disloyalty.

in all sorts of places,—churches where they were open to him, wagon shops, grocery stores, and wherever “the faithful” could gather an audience, regardless of his own comfort, mindful only of the need and the opportunity.

On returning from this expedition he took advantage of a Woman’s Rights convention in Richmond to invite Mrs. Frances D. Gage and Mrs. Emma R. Coe, two of the early champions of the suffrage cause, to lecture in Centerville, which they did to a large and appreciative audience, being entertained in the Julian home during their stay. Had guest-books been then in vogue that of the Julians must have contained the names of almost all the reformers who visited the Hoosier State, for eastern Indiana, with its large Quaker population, extended a cordial welcome. Such visits were gala occasions, neighbors and friends rallying, eager to meet and converse with the lion of the hour who thus left behind a more intimate and friendly impression than would otherwise have been possible.

Early in the year 1854 the slavery question, which both the old parties in their national platforms two years before had declared to be finally settled, was again suddenly and unexpectedly thrust into the political foreground by Senator Douglas’ Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the time-honored Missouri Compromise, and leaving to the inhabitants of Nebraska the decision as to whether or not they would have slavery. Nebraska was a part of the Louisiana Purchase and

included the present States of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas and Montana together with portions of Colorado and Wyoming. According to the Missouri Compromise all this territory must be free, being north of the latitude of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and Douglas' contention that the Compromise of 1850 had superseded the older enactment was a surprise as gratifying to one side as it was abhorrent to the other. Probably no congressional action ever aroused such widespread discussion or such intense feeling throughout the country as did this, and when one considers its scope and its results one must agree with Rhodes who calls it "the most momentous measure that has passed Congress from the day that the Senators and Representatives first met to the outbreak of the Civil War."⁴

It goes without saying that Julian at once sallied forth to combat this new heresy. During the term of Common Pleas court he circulated among lawyers and others a remonstrance against the proposed measure, Oliver P. Morton being the only man of any party who refused to sign, and for the ensuing three months he was busy opposing, by public speeches and newspaper articles "the heaven-daring scheme to curse Nebraska with slavery after its consecration to freedom for thirty-three years."⁵ He thought he saw in the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the turmoil it produced,

4. Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 490.

5. Julian's *Journal*, April 5, 1854. Wm. Dudley Foulke says that Morton and other Democrats prepared and circulated remonstrances against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in March. *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 37.

in the zeal of large numbers in behalf of temperance, a subject on which he also spoke frequently, and even in the madness of Know Nothingism, a movement consistently denounced by him from its first appearance in our politics, good omens for freedom, because it seemed to him all these made absolutely sure the breaking up of the two parties that had so long stood as the defenders and allies of slavery. He continued to address large anti-Nebraska meetings in eastern and central Indiana throughout the summer. And he felt encouraged by the manifest interest of the people, who seemed to him in process of self-emancipation from party trammels, needing only courageous leaders who should make clear to them the difference between the transient and the permanent in the forces at work and treat the repeal of the Missouri Compromise (for the Douglas bill had become a law on May 30th) as a summons to the manhood of the State.

Julian was therefore sadly disappointed when the State mass convention, made up of Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers, Temperance men and Know Nothings, which assembled at Indianapolis on July 13th, contented itself with a platform which took decided ground on the temperance question, but as to slavery, demanded merely the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. As a member of the platform committee, Julian presented a minority report in favor of restricting, discouraging and denationalizing slavery to the extent of constitutional power, describing the repeal of the

Missouri Compromise as part of a concerted movement to nationalize the institution, and asserting that this repeal exonerated the North from the duty of further acquiescing in and obeying the Compromise of 1850. In this he proved his kinship with the "Independent Democrats" in Congress, with several of whom he was in frequent communication, who in their famous "Appeal" of January 24th, had characterized the Douglas bill as "an atrocious plot" and an attempt to "open all the unorganized territory of the Union to the ingress of slavery."⁶

The vote on Julian's report was close, but the chairman declared it lost, and the majority report was then adopted. "The new movement," said Julian, "is thus harnessed to a narrow and false issue. Every Doughface in Indiana can demand the restoration of this compromise, because he can expound it as the limit of his anti-slavery designs and as a mere rebuke to the Administration for disturbing the 'healing measures' of 1850. To restore it would be to reaffirm the binding obligation of an agreement which ought never to have been made, and from which the first favorable opportunity of deliverance should be sought. It would be to go back by the shortest and cheapest route to the Compromise of 1850 and the Baltimore platforms of 1852, instead of forward to the platform of the Free Democracy. . . . It

6. This appeal was the joint work of Giddings, Chase, Gerrit Smith and Sumner. Rhodes, Vol. I, 441-442. Also *Life of Giddings*, Julian, 311-312.

would be to stab freedom in the vitals, while closing up an artery in the slave power madly opened by its own hand, which threatened to bleed it to death.”⁷

He felt sure that had his report been accepted by the committee it would have been adopted, the majority of the convention being far less conservative, in his view, than those who led them. The Temperance men in this body were satisfied, because the platform suited them. The Know Nothings of course were pleased, because the ticket selected was the one nominated by them in secret conclave the day before, as afterwards became known.⁸ The anti-slavery men generally acquiesced because they were bewildered and confused. Indeed, many of them had gone into Know Nothing lodges, along with large numbers of Whigs and Democrats, and the Fusion movement was to all practical intents and purposes a Know Nothing venture.

Although supporting the ticket, Julian never intermitted his efforts to enlighten the people as to the true meaning of the Nebraska issue and to warn them against Know Nothingism. It was of this period that he declared that he probably had not a dozen political friends in the state. In an article that appeared in *The National Era* in October 1854 entitled “A Voice from Indiana”, he clearly set forth the issue as he saw it and the

7. Julian's *Journal*, Aug. 5, 1854.

8. David Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 153. Julian's *Recollections*, p. 144.

duty of anti-slavery men, arraigning them for their timid and shrinking policy and for failing to utilize a fine opportunity for promoting their cause. "The only specific issue on which the people banded themselves together at Indianapolis on July 13th was the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. The purpose of the combination is expressly limited to this single point in the second resolution, whilst the convention laid on the table two resolutions which were entirely unobjectionable, simply proposing opposition to slavery within constitutional limits. The restoration of the Missouri Compromise is then *the* issue. This is the stereotyped watchword and rallying cry of the anti-Nebraska forces throughout the State. Now as an anti-slavery man I do not like it. We should not desire to restore the Missouri Compromise. . . . No. Let the broken compact remain broken, and let us say so. Let our Southern friends understand that this is a breach we do not desire to heal, but that we shall march through it to the fullest assertion of our constitutional rights. Let us say to them, 'You have set at naught your plighted faith to us, that Nebraska and Kansas should be free by ruthlessly breaking down the wall which guarded them; and now by way of redressing the wrong we have suffered, and as some atonement on your part, we not only demand that these Territories shall be preserved free by law, but that *all territory* shall be thus preserved, whether now owned or hereafter to be

acquired by the Government; that not another slave State shall ever come into the Union, either from Utah, New Mexico, the State of Texas, or elsewhere; that the Fugitive Slave Act shall be repealed; that slavery in our national District (the District of Columbia) shall be abolished, and in fine, that the curse shall be hurled back upon the States in which it dwells, to live if it can or die if it must by its own local laws'.

This should be our purpose, fearlessly avowed, if we are in earnest, and mean to build up the cause of Freedom through the treachery of its foes instead of secretly playing into their hands under a hypocritical mask. This broad ground has been assumed, substantially, in six or seven of our Northern States. It is the only ground on which the reliable friends of freedom can stand. Am I not justified in saying that we in this State are not availing ourselves as wisely as we ought of the present excitement, that we are losing a most favorable opportunity to commit the people to our doctrines? And is there not something to fear as well as to hope from the anti-Nebraska movement in Indiana? I trust the ticket nominated on the 13th of July will be triumphantly elected. But will it be a clear and unequivocal verdict of the people in favor of freedom?"⁹

The Know Nothing or American party was a secret oath-bound order which proposed to exclude foreigners and Catholics from all offices

9. Julian's *Scrap-Book*. Exact date lacking.

great and small, and so to change the naturalization laws that immigrants could become citizens only after a residence of twenty-one years. It made its appearance at a time when the old parties in the northern States were divided and uncertain where to turn. Rhodes says that 'if the anti-Nebraska members of Congress had comprehended the situation, as did the freemen of Michigan, a national Republican party would at once have been formed and the Know Nothings would have lost a large element of strength.'¹⁰ This order differed in different sections of the country, it undoubtedly attracted men of widely divergent views, and for a time it exercised great power. Its deathblow was received at its annual convention in Philadelphia in 1855 when the committee on resolutions declared that Congress ought not to prohibit slavery in any territory or in the District of Columbia, and that it had no power to exclude any state from admission to the Union because its constitution recognized slavery.¹¹

Julian seems to have had an intuitive distrust of secret orders, and from the first he took a decided stand against Know Nothingism, which he did not cease to fight while it showed any signs of life. When in April, 1855, he received his customary invitation to address the three-day

10. Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 55.

11. Carl F. Brand, *History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana*, *Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1922. It is a curious fact that in this year (1855) the Know Nothing or American party elected governors in nine States and forty-three members of Congress. Daniel Wait Howe, *History of Secession*, p. 283.

anti-slavery convention in Cincinnati, he accepted only with the proviso that he be given *carte blanche* to deal with this heresy as he saw fit, and his unsparing denunciation of the movement which he believed had pretty steadily played into the hands of the slave power called forth expressions of appreciation from many who had at first deprecated any allusion to the subject. The following passages convey an idea of the general tenor of this speech:

“I confess to some degree of embarrassment in approaching the discussion of the slavery question at this crisis in its history. It has assumed an attitude so novel and peculiar in its relations to American politics, and is so complicated with strange and alien elements, that I can scarcely hope to present my views of present duty without giving offense to some, and perhaps arousing a certain antagonism among those who have heretofore walked together as brethren. My task is a delicate one, and I regret sincerely the causes that have made it so. I shall however in the exercise of free speech and with that plainness which I am accustomed to employ, give utterance to my own deliberate convictions, holding no man or party responsible for them, and only asking in their behalf such consideration as they may be entitled to receive at your hands.

“I desire to address myself today to anti-slavery men; and I begin by remarking that the grand obstacle to the spread of free principles is the lack of a just comprehension of our move-

ment. It is not only grossly misconceived by the great body of the people, but many, I fear, who are set apart by common consent as its peculiar friends either do not understand or perceive but dimly its real magnitude. The cause of human rights is not one to be dragged down to the level of our current politics and confounded with the strife of parties and the schemes of place-hunters. It is not to be hawked about in the political market and advocated with a zeal which instantly expires when the temporary occasion for it has disappeared. We dishonor the cause and bring our own integrity into question when we suffer it to be placed alongside the comparatively trifling and ephemeral questions of the day, and to be dealt with as such, instead of elevating it to the dignity of a great moral enterprise to be steadily prosecuted whether honor, advantage and immediate success, or obloquy, suffering and present defeat shall be the result of our fidelity. The question of human freedom is not a question of one nation or of one race, but of all nations and all races. Ours is pre-eminently a Christian movement. Its grand idea, its central life-giving principle, is the equal brotherhood of all men before their common Father in heaven; and its mission is the practical vindication of this truth. . . . This is the only true standpoint for the anti-slavery party in the United States, and we should resolutely and unitedly maintain it in the face of all opposition. Principle and policy alike require that we stand on Christian ground, and on

no account should we forego a position which alone can render our cause impregnable and which is so much needed to cheer us under the many discouragements to which it is perpetually subjected. We are branded as infidels. Let us say to the world that we wage war against slavery *because we are Christians*, and that to us rightfully belongs the prerogative of sitting in judgment upon the popular religion of the country and pronouncing upon it according to its fidelity or infidelity to the great doctrine of human brotherhood. We are branded with having but "one idea." Let us reply that we borrow it from the New Testament, in which we find it appealing to us as the "one idea" of the founder of our religion, and that that idea is large enough to comprehend the moral universe. We are charged with an undue measure of zeal in the advocacy of our cause. Let us answer that the system of American slavery is the hugest and most frightful denial of the central truth of our religious faith, the most atrocious libel upon justice and humanity, that now confronts heaven on any part of our globe. We are reproached with our weakness as a party, and sometimes our own doubting hearts whisper to us that our struggles have proved but so many failures. Let us remember that so holy an enterprise must necessarily encounter every form of human selfishness and be subjected to those conditions by which every other good work has been retarded; that in the nature of things it can only keep pace with the gradual but slow progress of

Christian principles; and while we thus learn a lesson of patience let us ever bear in mind that Heaven itself is pledged to the ultimate success of our sincere endeavors.”¹²

Referring to the Kansas-Nebraska Act of the year before and the popular argument against it as the breach of an ancient and solemn pact made for the security of freedom north of the parallel 36° 30' north latitude, he said:

“Sir, a thoroughly baptized anti-slavery people would have lost sight of any *bargain* with slavery in its unhallowed conspiracy to blast an empire with its withering power. I oppose slavery upon principle. I hold it to be wrong *in principle* for one man to be the owner of another, to deny him a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, to rob him of the holiest ties of life and sell him on the auction-block as a chattel, to take from him his Bible and close against him the avenue of knowledge, to annihilate the institution of marriage and spread licentiousness and crime over the land. This I regard as unutterably wicked, independent of any compact by which slavery and freedom may have assumed to dispose of their possessions according to certain geographical lines. Hence I hate slavery wherever I find it, from the north pole down to 36° 30' north latitude; and when I get there I go right on hating it all round the globe wherever I can trace its slimy footsteps. I confess I have not yet mastered the

12. Julian's *Speeches*, pp. 102-104.

slippery philosophy by which some men loathe and execrate it on the north side of a particular line, and then transfigure it into all blessedness and beauty by the magic of a mere parallel of latitude. This cheap and popular method of hating slavery may do for an anti-Nebraska man, but it will not do for an *anti-slavery* man. It may accord with the frigid temper and technical ethics of the politician and the Doughface, but it will not satisfy the fervent uncompromising spirit of the Abolitionist. Opposition to slavery as an outrage upon man and a crime against God, as an evil essentially infernal in its very nature,—this alone will avail us in any *bona fide* encounter with our southern masters; and this, I regret to say, has not been the controlling element in the late demonstrations in the northern States.”¹³

Passing to the subject of Know Nothingism, which he characterized as a deliberately concocted scheme of the slave power to divert attention from its own wicked actions, he declared that its appeal was to the unenlightened prejudices and misdirected passions of the people. Stealing the livery of the Jesuit, it raised the war-cry against Rome. “No good cause has ever yet been helped by enlisting the devil on its side, because no man has been found wise enough to tell how to employ him without thereby fortifying his citadel instead of bombarding it.”

Referring to the complicity of church mem-

13. *Ibid.* p. 106.

bers with slavery, he asked: "How is it sir, that the zeal of our northern Know Nothings is so strong against 'Babylonian abominations' whilst here we have a Native American Babylon upheld by our Protestant sects whose infernal sway over three and a half million human beings for whom Christ died makes the corruptions of Rome dwindle into insignificance, whilst it strengthens the arm of despotism and stifles the voice of freedom throughout the world? . . . Sir, I submit that our Protestantism should perform a lustration to purify itself from this transcendant wickedness before it attempts any new assault upon an outward foe."¹⁴

No one who reads this speech can wonder that Julian was not a comfortable yoke-fellow for politicians and time-servers. "Honestly active men in a country", says George Meredith, "who decline to practice hyprocrisy, show that the blood runs and are a sign of life. . . . What if they be in a minority? Ghastly as a minority is in an election, in a life-long struggle it is refreshing and encouraging. The young world and its victory are with the minority."¹⁵

Practically the same speech was delivered in Indianapolis at the State Anti-slavery convention of June 27th following, and graphically sets forth his own attitude and the odds faced by him in seeking to advance anti-slavery principles in Indiana in 1854 and 1855. It called forth a reply

14. *Ibid.* p. 117.

15. George Meredith, *Beauchamp's Career*.

from Stephen S. Harding, of Ripley County, who had been an early Abolitionist and was a strong personal friend of Julian's, but who had been carried away by the principles of the Know Nothing party. At the conclusion of his speech Harding received long and loud applause.¹⁶ In this connection it seems proper to cite an extract from a letter addressed by Harding to Julian on the latter's election to Congress in the fall of 1860 in which reference is made to this occasion:

"In looking back on my not wholly uneventful life there is but one public act that my better judgment condemns: that is my consenting to act with that clap-trap organization that for a time overshadowed the whole horizon. You know what I mean—the Know Nothing tom-foolery. I got into it—I hardly know how—and was carried along with the irresistible tide, and found myself a member of its august Councils. I was sent to the city of New York, then to the National Council at Cincinnati. There the bubble burst and I shook the dust from my feet, for I there learned from the haughty chivalry who sat around me that the organization was looked upon as a mighty instrumentality to forward the interests

16. "The approval of the convention (of Harding's speech) showed that a large proportion of those present were either members of the order or sympathizers with them." Brand; *Know Nothing Party in Indiana. Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1922. Stephen S. Harding, one of the earliest Free Soilers, was born Feb. 24, 1808, in New York, came to Ripley County, Indiana, in 1819. Appointed Governor of the Territory of Utah by President Lincoln in 1862, and served until June, 1863. Afterwards Chief Justice of Colorado Territory. Died in Ripley County, Feb. 12, 1891.

of slavery. This was to be effected by a universal disfranchisement of our foreign population who were declared to be anti-slavery in all their sympathies. This was not the feast to which I had been invited and I repudiated the whole concern from that moment.

“But let this suffice: I only desire to say in this connection that *you were right* and *I was wrong*. ‘A confession of faults makes half amends’. I know you well enough to *know* that this error of my life may find forgiveness. I never think of the time when certain men at Indianapolis cheered me so frantically without feeling that I was the disgraced man and you the stern apostle of right who in the dignity of his own conscious strength could well afford to retire from the confusion and await ‘the sober second thought’ of the people. You and I have both lived to see that day, you to reap the just reward, and I (as I trust) not less happy than you that it is so.”¹⁷

Julian continued his anti-slavery and anti-Know Nothing speaking throughout the summer and autumn of 1854. He was ignored for the most part by the newspapers, but received by the people with sympathetic interest and often with glad acclaim. He did not attend the Fusion State convention in Indianapolis on July 13th, which was much the same as that of the year before and adopted substantially the same platform. The object, he saw, was to keep in the field the dis-

17. Julian *Letters*, dated Nov. 18, 1869, Milan, Ind.

jointed and conglomerate army that had triumphed in the last contest. The hand of Know Nothingism, for a time skillfully disguised, was at length plainly visible, and it did not surprise him that in the local fall elections the Democrats were the winners. The victory of the preceding year was seen to have been only nominal. No solid foundation had been laid for future or permanent success, because it was an unnatural assemblage of fundamentally diverse and discordant elements.

That Julian kept in touch with anti-slavery men in other states and had the moral support of knowing himself in accord with them is shown by letters. The following from Giddings dated Jefferson, Ohio, May 30, 1855, is cited:

“You see we are battling the Know Nothings. We refuse to go into convention with them or to recognize them as allies. We are determined to have a Republican convention, and Republican candidates, without surrender, without compromise. . . . If the Know Nothings abandon their organization and meet us on common ground we shall be happy to greet them as friends. If they refuse, we say, let them go.

“This is our only course if we intend carrying the presidential election. The recent defeat in Virginia will be likely to bring them to a consciousness of their approaching disbandment.¹⁸ If we repudiate all coalition with them this fall they will be likely to be still more discouraged,

18. Henry A. Wise, Democrat, was successful over Flourney, Know Nothing, the former emphasizing opposition to Know Nothingism.

and if New York repudiates them, as she will next fall, and if New England adheres to her anti-slavery position, we shall have no trouble with them next year. Now we want to see the work going forward in Indiana. We must elect an anti-slavery and anti-Know Nothing president next year.”¹⁹

19. Julian *Letters*.

CHAPTER VII

Anti-Slavery Progress Slow—Pittsburgh Convention—Julian's Political Independence—Friendship of Chase—Some Letters—Election of Buchanan—The Western Presage—Speech at Raysville

Julian noted with satisfaction the steadily growing interest in the slavery question throughout the North and counted the election of Banks as Speaker of the House of Representatives on February 2, 1856, after a contest of more than eight weeks, a distinct omen of good. His letter to Giddings of January 12th show that he kept in close touch with Congressional doings:

“And so you are still battling for Speaker. What a spectacle! What a pitiful result of the great revolution of 1854! I predicted it and expected nothing better from the accursed heresy of Nativism which skulked into our camp to divide our friends and break the force of our movement. It seems from the *Era*, *Tribune*, etc. that several of those who recently voted for Banks *talk* against him and are known to be opposed to him. I guess that one of these must be our embodiment of dough from this district.¹ His vote against laying on the table Dunn's resolution in

1. David P. Holloway, who represented the 'Burnt District' one term, 1855-57.

favor of Leiter shows his lack of anti-slavery sympathy.”²

The fact that Indiana continued to show backward tendencies only increased Julian’s zeal in setting forth the whole Republican gospel as he understood it whenever the occasion presented itself, and it is a safe venture that he frequently *made* occasions, for “his was a soul born active, wind-beaten but ascending”, and each rebuff was an invitation to renewed exertion when a principle was involved. At a Fusion convention in his own county on January 26, 1856, some moderate anti-slavery resolutions submitted by him were voted down and their publication refused on the ground that they formed no part of the proceedings. The rejected resolutions were as follows:

1. That we accept the name *Republican Party*.
2. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise makes every inch of the national domain a battle ground between freedom and slavery. This issue we accept and we shall oppose the admission of another slave state and leaving any of the Territories open to the possession of Slavery.
3. We propose a united stand of the people of the non-slaveholding States for the single object of resisting slave extension.

2. The resolution of Representative George G. Dunn of Indiana, presented on January 4, to the effect that Benjamin F. Leiter of Ohio be declared Speaker, was tabled by a vote of 166 to 39. This resolution was one of several efforts to break the dead-lock and at the same time thwart the wishes of the pronounced anti-slavery element which supported Banks.

4. That secret political organizations are inconsistent with the principles of free government and we repudiate and condemn the proscriptive and anti-republican doctrine of the Order of Know Nothings.³

At the urgent solicitation of his wife he left her and the very new baby⁴ to attend the Pittsburgh convention of February 22nd, where he was made one of the vice-presidents and chairman of the committee on organization, through whose report of a plan the new Republican party became a national reality. Among those who served with Julian on this important committee were his old friend Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, brother of the revered martyr in the cause of free speech at Alton in 1837, and Zachariah Chandler of Michigan. There were four sections in the report of this committee, the last two of which were of special significance:

3. "The committee further recommends the holding of a Republican National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President at Philadelphia on Tuesday the 17th day of next June, to be composed of delegates from the several states equal in number to twice

3. Richmond *Jeffersonian*, Jan. 31, 1856. This paper says that Julian's brother, Jacob B., was chairman of the Resolutions Committee of this convention and that his uncle, Henry Hoover, made the motion to table the above resolutions. So strongly and persistently did Julian condemn Nativism that opposition to the order was called *Julianism* by various newspapers of this period.

4. This his third son was "a splendid valentine" of that year. Julian's *Journal*, Feb. 15, 1856.

the representation in Congress to which each state is entitled.⁵

4. "That the Republicans of the different states be recommended to complete their organization at the earliest possible moment by the appointment of state, county and district committees; and the state and county committees are requested to organize the respective counties by Republican clubs in every town or township throughout the land."⁶

Julian felt that the address and resolutions adopted by the convention covered the whole anti-slavery ground and rejoiced in the assurance that the false issue of the restoration of the Missouri Compromise was henceforth to be repudiated. It was especially gratifying to him to meet again his old cronies of the Thirty-first Congress, Joshua R. Giddings, David Wilmot, Preston King and Charles Durkee, all eagerly interested in helping to launch the new party.

In a letter to the New York *Independent* dated February 29, 1856, he said:

"The purpose of the convention to unite on the simple and sole issue of slavery was most manifest in its treatment of the Know Nothing issue. No Know Nothing dared to present an American plank for the platform or even to allude to the subject in any way. Of all the speakers, not one

5. This was amended so as to make the delegates to the national convention consist of three from each Congressional district. Article by G.W.J. on "The First Republican National Convention", *American Historical Review*, Vol. 4, p. 320.

6. *Ibid.*

repeated any of the cant phrases so common a year or two ago, such as 'America for Americans', etc. Several speakers referred to the Order in terms of disparagement and disapprobation, whilst the Know Nothings themselves begged to be ignored, declaring that the lodges are disbanding and the members from the North preparing to act in good faith with the Republican movement. It was in view of these facts that no distinct ground was taken on this subject by resolution, and this I must still regard as a mistake notwithstanding the facts recited. I have strong fears that the vile '*ism*' is not yet entirely dead, and that its Jesuitical tactics will be actively employed from this until the 17th of June in putting Doughfaces and trimmers in our National Convention. May the Lord deliver us from the tender mercies of politicians and allow the people to do their own work in their own way!"

The bold position assumed at Pittsburgh seems not to have affected the hesitating and timid Indiana Fusionists, and they continued, quite naturally, to regard Julian as a thorn in the flesh. "But I shall be with them to the end" he recorded, "and compel them to walk up on to a clean Republican platform on the single issue of slavery or else go to their own proper place. There are some seven or eight People's Party⁷ papers in this State advocating the nomination of Fillmore and

7. This was the name now given in Indiana to that which was later to become the Republican Party.

Donelson,⁸ whilst most of the other Fusion organs evidently defer to the Know Nothing movement. I trust that by the first of May the Indiana Free Soilers will break away from the vampires that have been sucking their blood for months. *Success on principle is desirable; and the next best thing is defeat on principle:* for then we have the foundation of a future success. A triumph this year by a dishonest conglomeration of odds and ends held temporarily together by various and diverse questions would be worse than a defeat. The anti-slavery cause would be prostituted and trampled under foot. If by fidelity to this cause we can incidentally get the offices of the country, very well; if not, the country is not yet ripe for a genuine triumph.”⁹

On the occasion of the county nominating convention soon afterwards, Julian, who had been studiously kept off the resolutions committee, succeeded in carrying an anti-Fillmore and anti-Know Nothing resolve in the face of an opposition headed by Oliver P. Morton, D. P. Holloway, editor of the Richmond *Palladium* and a member of Congress, Solomon Meredith, recently back from serving as a delegate to the convention which nominated Fillmore, and Charles Test.¹⁰

8. National American (Know Nothing) candidates for President and Vice-President, 1856.

9. Julian's *Journal*, Mar. 5, 1856.

10. The Richmond *Jeffersonian* called this action “a virtual surrender of the combined forces of Wayne County Whiggery and Americanism to the Abolitionists as represented by their embodiment in Indiana, George W. Julian,” but predicted that this would not be repeated in the State convention, a prophecy that was substantially fulfilled.

Julian was eager to see Indiana take her place beside Ohio, Michigan, New York and Massachusetts, where Republican organizations on a broad anti-slavery basis had been launched. But although the name Republican had been given to the national party by the Pittsburgh convention and was already widely in use, the proposition to adopt this designation was expressly voted down in the state convention of May 1st, at Indianapolis.¹¹ It was still the People's party, and the Indiana delegates to the Philadelphia convention were the People's delegates to the People's convention. Oliver P. Morton, who had left the Democratic party two years before, was nominated for Governor and at least one man on the ticket was an avowed Fillmore supporter,¹² while both Fillmore and anti-Fillmore delegates were sent to Philadelphia and chosen as Presidential electors.¹³

The platform adopted was two-faced, harking back to the Fusion conventions of 1854 and 1855, and one is not surprised that Julian sharply criticised the action of the convention in a letter to the *National Era*,¹⁴ Dr. Bailey's paper at Washington. His knowledge of men and of politics told him that an outspoken anti-slavery stand must become the strategic position of the party that

11. Henry S. Lane presided over this convention.

12. John W. Dawson of Allen County, nominee for Secretary of State. He was the editor of the *Fort Wayne Times*. Carl Brand, *Indiana Magazine of History*, September, 1922.

13. Jacob B. Julian was a Wayne County delegate to the national convention.

14. May 10, 1856.

was to command the future, and he was naturally impatient at the continued shilly-shallying in Indiana.¹⁵

Julian had hoped for the nomination of Seward or Chase at Chicago, but entered the canvass in behalf of Fremont in August and continued till the November election, quite independently of the party managers, who ignored him as far as possible and would have rejoiced to be quite rid of him. To the pacifists of that day, whose name was legion, he was a disturbing factor. But invitations to speak poured in upon him, many more than he could accept and he was everywhere greeted by crowds, the audience of 30,000 at Liberty where he and Cassius M. Clay spoke on August 9th, being the largest he had ever seen

15. The following letter from Dr. Gamaliel Bailey to Julian is interesting in this connection:

Washington, March 9, 1856.

My dear friend:

My clerk, Mr. Clephane, says you were pleased with the convention (Pittsburgh). What will you do in Indiana? Are the people there enlightened enough to bring up to the right standard? We have a set of timid, short-sighted men in Congress. They are afraid of Know Nothingism and are constantly in danger of temporizing with it. * * * Seward's position is defiant—he will have no coalition. The mania for mere success has seized a majority of the members here, and to accomplish it they are already talking about taking up some *new* man, Mr. Availability. The people must look to themselves and not take counsel of their representatives. I want a man clearly and unmistakably representing our movement. Chase has a future, (but) he must wait, I think. It is, I am sure, better that he should. Seward is by all odds the strongest man we could run if his friends will let him be nominated. Preston King I would cheerfully go for, but he would not arouse so much enthusiasm. Seward's nomination would relieve us at once of all taint or suspicion of Know Nothingism.

Yours Truly,

G. Bailey.

except at the Harrison meeting at Dayton in 1840. Of this meeting the Richmond *Jeffersonian* said: "There were in the procession two wagon-loads of ladies, one wagon filled with negroes, and fifteen colored gentlemen on horseback. Drunken Fremonsters were plenty." But the Democratic press as a rule was not unfriendly in its treatment at this time, as witness the Columbus *Democrat's* reference to Julian's fine appearance and able speech. "Much as we dislike his politics", says this organ, "dangerous and destructive to our best interests as we are satisfied they are, we are free to admit that we admire the man for his independent boldness in declaring his sentiments."¹⁶

Towards the close of the campaign the opposition on the part of the "machine" disappeared, and he was welcomed even by those who had sought to silence him. This was partly because the people evidently wished to hear him, partly because his very fearlessness and apparent indifference to the tactics employed against him armed him with a certain power, and partly because speakers who came from other States, men of national repute, inquired for him and it proved embarrassing to account for his absence from party gatherings. As for himself, he felt that the Philadelphia platform which plainly declared freedom national and slavery sectional was at once a complete vindication of his position and an open condemnation of his enemies.

16. Julian *Scrap-Book*; only the year given.

Salmon P. Chase had become the first Republican governor of Ohio in January of this year 1856, and Julian was in frequent communication with him. Chase's personality appealed to him quite as strongly as did his anti-slavery principles. Albert Bushnell Hart, in his biography of the great Ohio statesman, asserts that Chase had a way of attaching to him younger men of ambition and ability with a view to using them later on to promote his own political fortunes. If any such notion was held regarding Julian it was certainly a mistaken one, for the latter was in no sense qualified for the service. His zeal in behalf of principles so far outran his caution that he could never have been a successful politician, and in contemplating his career one can but wonder that success in the practical sense came to him as often as was the case. Chase was his friend and had it been possible for the Hoosier to act on his kindly suggestions and those of Giddings as to a more conciliatory tone, it might have redounded to his own personal benefit, although whether or not his usefulness would have been increased may be open to question.

On July 17th Chase wrote from Columbus:

"Dear Julian:

I agree with you in thinking well of the platform adopted at Philadelphia. Indeed I cannot but suspect that the convention builded wiser than they knew. I hardly believe that the majority understood what broad principles

they were avowing. The recognition of the constitutional provision denying to the government power to deprive any person of life, liberty and property without due process of law as a practical and effectual prohibition of slavery in any territory of the United States is a point gained which includes, in logical sequence, all that is most important for us. It includes the denationalization of slavery entire.

I now hope you will go actively into the campaign. Let our old anti-slavery men hear your voice, and make friends among the new. I want to have you as prominent as you deserve to be in Indiana. We who love the cause for its own sake must stand by each other and acquire all the influence we can so as to resist reaction and secure the future.

Cordially your friend,

S. P. Chase.”¹⁷

That there was anxiety on the part of freedom’s friends in regard to Indiana’s showing in the national election is indicated by a letter from Greeley, dated New York, August 27th:

“My dear Sir: I am glad to hear from you in the tone of your note of the 21st. I *hope* you are right about Indiana, but I shall tremble till I see the two southern districts counted up. I am looking for this sort of vote from those two districts:

17. Julian *Letters*.

Fremont—10,000 at most;

Fillmore—10,000 at least;

Buchanan—21,000 fully.

I hope you can stand this, but it won't do to have any more Fillmoreism in the State. You have a big fight before you, and one of the first necessities is that you realize it.

I think our State good for 30,000 to 50,000 over either Buchanan or Fillmore, and I cannot guess which one of these will be ahead;—probably Fillmore would today, but I do not believe he will in November. They will probably try to combine against us, but that will be at once difficult and disastrous. . . .

Yours,

Horace Greeley."¹⁸

Julian knew even better than did Greeley the conditions in southern Indiana, because he had a large correspondence all over the state which enabled him to gauge pretty accurately the popular pulse, and he repeatedly urged the sending of speakers to that section, but the campaign managers turned a deaf ear to all such suggestions. They feared to offend the local conservative sentiment. Finally, in October, he himself went down towards the Ohio River, speaking at various points, one of the immediately impelling causes being the following letter which throws interesting light on the local situation:

18. *Ibid.*

Jeffersonville, Sep. 19, 1856.

Hon. G. W. Julian,

Dear Sir:

Your name has been mentioned by Democratic and Know Nothing speakers more than fifty times as an ultra Abolitionist in favor of everything offensive to the pro-slavery parties. This is done to keep people from voting for John C. Fremont. They are told that you and other Abolition leaders are for him and that is relied on in this pro-slavery locality to injure the Republican party. Dick Thompson¹⁹ has just made a strong speech against Fremont to the great gratification of Know Nothings and Democrats. They are agreed on one thing and that is to sustain slavery and beat Fremont. Our party is growing here, notwithstanding the odds against us. . . .

I want you to visit us and that soon. Do not delay. Your expenses shall be paid. When you come, show slavery no quarter. Present it in its true light. Convince the laboring class that it is at war with our republican institutions and opposed to their interests. If I were not a minister of the Gospel and pastor of a church here divided in politics I would

19. Richard W. Thompson, born in Culpeper County, Va., June 9, 1809. Began practicing law in Bedford, Ind., in 1834. Elected to 27th and 30th Congresses. Delegate to National Republican Convention of 1868 at Chicago and at Cincinnati in 1876. Secretary of Navy under President Hayes. Director of Panama Railroad Company. Died Feb. 9, 1900.

take the stump in behalf of Fremont. What I do must be in private conversation and by the distribution of documents. In this way I have done a good work and feel assured that I have made more than 100 votes for Fremont and Dayton.

Come and help us and if we are victorious, to God will be all the glory.

Your friend,

N. Field."²⁰

The election of Buchanan was not unexpected by Julian, who as usual was able to look conditions squarely in the face and to gather courage from the spectacle. "We had on our side grand popular demonstrations, in place of quiet individual effort and small meetings where men could be reasoned with coolly. We had Doughface committees, state and county, at least in Indiana, who blundered all the way through the campaign, which was conducted as if Republicanism were to triumph through the management of men who were ashamed of it. The old-liners had but one idea, slavery; we should have had but one, anti-

20. *Julian Letters*, Sept. 19, 1856. One of the points where he spoke on this trip was Columbus, in Bartholomew County, and of this speech *The Independent* of that town said (this was in October, but precise date is lacking):

"Had Mr. Julian been heard in every part of southern Indiana it would have encouraged our friends there and we should have carried the State triumphantly. The reason why the one-horse politicians belonging to the Republican organization wish to drive Mr. Julian from the party is perfectly obvious; it is jealousy of his talents and consequent powers."

Julian's Scrap-book.

slavery, and a bold fight on that would have saved us. Another fatal error was our fusion with Know Nothingism. Southern Indiana was abandoned to Fillmoreism and Old-Lineism, and the result of thus giving up the fight where it should have been most hot and incessant was the loss of a majority of the very men we labored so hard to conciliate. Fusionism has debauched and defeated us. Far better to have been beaten two years ago on broad and strong Republican ground than to fail now in consequence of a deceptive triumph then, since our present defeat reaches into the general result, with all its consequences.”²¹

But after all, he consoled himself with the reflection that the country was not yet ready for a real victory. Great progress had been made, the anti-slavery cause had at last got the ear of the people, and seed had been sown that must bring forth fruit in the next national struggle. He even went so far as to record that if Fremont had been elected the cause of Freedom would have been in great peril from powerful and systematic efforts that would undoubtedly have been put forth to render his administration temporizing and pro-slavery, a judgment abundantly confirmed by events and by later writers on the subject.

At the beginning of the year 1857, a Republican weekly newspaper was launched in Indianapolis called *The Western Presage*, two brothers named

21. Julian's *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1856.

Bidwell [Andrew and Solomon] being its sponsors. They declared their object to be the establishment of "a higher standard of public opinion, particularly on the subject of American slavery", and asserted that if they could not succeed without compromising the truth, as many persons told them they could not, they would go back to their former occupation.²² It is easy to imagine the joy that the prospect of such an organ must have given Julian, who was invited to write the leading editorial for the first number which appeared on January 3, 1857. This was entitled "Peculiar Features of Indiana Politics", and was followed by several others from his pen. But the dreams of the Bidwell brothers and the bright anticipations of freedom's uncompromising advocate were not destined to be realized. On April 5th the latter records: "The *Western Presage* is dead. It told too much truth in its short life to suit the chief priests and they crucified it. I fear Indiana is politically past praying for. The Dred Scott decision ought to arouse even our cold-blooded Republicanism. Nothing is so much needed as a genuine revival among anti-slavery men, communicating their zeal to the masses and *compelling* politicians to defer to their earnest wishes."²³

The following letter shows Gov. Chase's continued interest. One can only speculate as to the subject about which he wished to confer, as the

22. *Prospectus* in Julian Collection.

23. *Julian's Journal*.

invitation was not accepted, for what reason it is not known.

“State of Ohio, Executive Dept.

May 6, 1857.

“My dear Julian:

So far as I can see the anti-slavery principle takes deeper and deeper hold upon the masses and demands more and more emphatically a true representation of itself in nominations. You *must* take the position that rightfully belongs to you in Indiana. By a firm, yet conciliatory policy you can, I feel sure, shape the movements of the opposition to the administration in your state in conformity in all material respects with your ideas of justice and fidelity to principle. I wish very much that I could see you and have some conversation with you in the course of the next twenty days. Can you not pay me a visit? If you can, come straight to my house and make your home with me.

Cordially your friend,

S. P. Chase”²⁴

This year was largely devoted to private affairs and to his profession. His increased family necessitated an addition to the house, a vexatious and protracted undertaking. The failure of Mrs. Julian's health which followed the birth of the last child caused increasing anxiety, and a cloud that at times completely enveloped her husband.

24. Julian *Letters*.

He tried to put out of sight the inevitable and in this was greatly aided by her whose naturally buoyant disposition was reinforced by the hopefulness characteristic of her disease. A horse and carriage were purchased and they took frequent drives, picnics were arranged, and every effort was put forth to snatch the joys of life which now seemed so fleeting.

Beginning as far back as the year 1844, Julian was in demand at Independence Day celebrations, which consisted of processions, music, reading the Declaration, and addresses. These were occasions of much pith and moment, when people rallied from far and near, and they were likewise of immense educational significance. On July 4, 1857 he spoke to a large gathering at Raysville, Henry County. His subject was "Indiana Politics"²⁵ and a careful perusal of this speech will well repay the student who wishes to understand political conditions in Indiana at that time. It is a severe arraignment of her pro-slavery tendencies, of her "Black Code branded upon her recreant forehead by a majority of nearly one hundred thousand",²⁶ a telling rebuke of the timid and halting policy of the Fusionists of the State during the past three years, of their insistence that theirs is a "White Man's Party", and their reiterated protests against every form of Aboli-

25. *Speeches*, p. 126.

26. Referring to the provisions for excluding negroes from the State and for punishing those who encouraged them to remain. Art. XIII, Constitution of 1851.

tionism, a capital analysis of the Philadelphia platform as a confession of political faith appealing both to reason and conscience, and a splendid plea in behalf of a genuine Republican Party founded on the anti-slavery idea.

“Slavery must be abolished, and we must not be ashamed to avow this as our ultimate purpose as members of the Republican party. . . . I do not say that we should make an irruption into the South to liberate the millions in chains by violence. I do not say that we should incite them to revolt against their tyrants. Nor am I prepared to affirm either the right or the duty of the national government forthwith to sever the relations of master and slave; for the overthrow of so monstrous a system, interwoven with the whole framework of society in the South for so many generations, however ardently we may wish it and fervently pray for it, can be accomplished peaceably only by eradicating the sentiment of tyranny from the white man’s heart, while we smite the chains from the black man’s limbs. The abolition of slavery must be at first virtual and at last actual. The act of abolition must be a continuous act. It must become an educational *process* before it can be realized in fact through any act of the government. It will take place in some states sooner than in others, owing to local and other causes; and our reliance must be the resistless pressure of a growing anti-slavery opinion, without which acts of Congress and judicial

decrees are worthless. Whilst striving by the help of such opinion to brand slavery as a political outlaw wherever found beyond the states which it scourges, and thus to stamp it with national reprobation as did our fathers, I would inspire in the people of the free states a love of liberty so dominant and all-swaying, and a hatred of slavery so intense and unquenchable, that our brethren in the South would desert it as men desert a sinking ship.

“And to this end, as the Constituion has long been moulded by the plastic hand of slavery into such shape as would further its own behests, so in our warfare against it I would invoke just as far as practicable the awakening humanity of the people in the use of all the constitutional authority of the Federal Government and of the free states, interpreted strictly against slavery as an exceptional interest, a loathsome and wicked anomaly, but liberally in favor of freedom as the source of our national life and the grand purpose of our national union. ‘The system of the general government’ says Jefferson, ‘is to seize all doubtful ground. We must join in the scramble, or get nothing. When first occupancy is to give right, he who lies still loses all’. In the name of the father of American Democracy I plead this principle, not simply in behalf of State Rights against Federal usurpation but in behalf of freedom against slavery. We must not, we dare not slumber whilst this sleepless despotism is forging

our chains in the name of the Constitution. To accept a defensive position now is death. To meditate it is cowardice. Our attitude, if really defensive, must be aggressive. . . . We must make of the Constitution our citadel, our high tower. We must wrest from the enemy every 'doubtful ground', and make it a bulwark of freedom. In view of the priceless value of liberty, and of the subtle, unscrupulous and relentless tyranny with which we are forced to wrestle, we must, in self-defense, seize every possible vantage-ground afforded by the Constitution and resolutely maintain it as necessary to our political salvation. . . . Instead of deprecating radical measures, disavowing abolitionism, and fulsomely parading our devotion to the Union, let us declare ourselves the unqualified foes of slavery in principle, and make good the declaration by the same boldness of action and uncalculating directness of policy which make the politicians of the South in this respect our fit example.

"Let us tell them in point-blank words that Liberty is dearer to us than the Union; that we value the Union simply as the servant of liberty; and that we can imagine no earthly perils or sacrifices so great that we will not face them rather than buy our peace through the perpetual enslavement of four millions of people and their descendants. If we assure them that we love the Union, let us not fail to inform them that we mean the Union contemplated by our fathers,

with the chains of the slave falling from his limbs as the harbinger of 'liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof,' and that only by restoring their policy, and re-animating the people with the spirit of 1776 can these states be permanently held together. With equal frankness let us tell them that we do *not* love the Union so dearly prized by modern Democracy, with James Buchanan as its King and Chief Justice Taney as its anointed High-priest; and that at whatever cost we will resist its atrocious conspiracy to establish on the ruins of the Republic, the hugest and most desolating slave empire that ever confronted heaven."²⁷

27. *Speeches*, pp. 149-153.

CHAPTER VIII

Another Fugitive Slave Case—Politics—Anti-Slavery Missionary Efforts—“Mental Faithfulness”—Reading—Rev. Daniel Worth—Nominated for Congress 1860—Interesting Letters—Death of Anne E. Julian—Spiritualism

The last fugitive slave case in which Julian figured, and one of the most picturesque in the annals of the state occurred at Indianapolis in December, 1857. The central figure was a negro called variously Weston, West, and Wesley, but who declared his real name to be Thomas Anderson. He had been captured at Naples, Illinois, by the agent of Austin W. Vollandigham of Kentucky, whose property he was declared to be. The slave-catcher with the alleged fugitive in irons had stopped in Indianapolis *en route* to Kentucky, when lawyers for the negro, Henry Ellsworth and Sims A. Colley, George W. Julian and John Coburn took the case before Judge David Wallace of the Common Pleas Court and secured West's discharge on a writ of *habeas corpus*. He was immediately re-arrested by Deputy U. S. Marshal Jesse D. Carmichael and taken before U. S. Commissioner John H. Rea upon a complaint charging him with being a fugitive from labor, whereupon West's counsel asked for a continuance of the case

on the negro's affidavit that he was free and could prove it if allowed time to procure witnesses. But the Commissioner overruled this motion and granted a certificate for his removal, holding that the evidence established the *identity* of the negro and that it was not within his province to consider the question of his freedom or slavery, this being for the Kentucky courts to determine. Again the negro's lawyers took the case before Judge Wallace on *habeas corpus*, and for ten days the two sides engaged in a legal battle which terminated in the handing over of the captive to the U. S. Marshal, "in utter defiance," said Julian, "of the rights of Indiana as a sovereign State."¹

Vallandigham's lawyers were Robert L. Walpole, J. Roberts and Thomas D. Walpole. Bitter personalities were bandied about on both sides, such as T. D. Walpole's calling Julian at the conclusion of one of the latter's arguments "a liar and a dirty dog", and Julian's retort that 'no gentleman and nobody but a coward would make such a declaration'.² John Coburn's assertion that Commissioner Rea certified to a string of statements "as false as Hell"³ is another interesting reminder of the improved manners of the present. Only the barest outline of the case is here given; there were plots and counter-plots, including an action against Vallandigham on the charge of kidnapping, and through all the proceedings "the boy

1. Julian's *Journal*, Jan. 5, 1858.

2. Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Dec. 7, 1857.

3. Indianapolis *Daily Sentinel*, Dec. 7, 1857.

West" appeared as the half dazed and helpless cause of an excitement which drew large audiences to the scene day after day.

Vallandigham, who had come up from Kentucky to lend assistance in the case, and who evidently realized that slave holders and their agents were not popular in the Hoosier capital, asked for an extraordinary guard to escort his party beyond the borders of Indiana, and a posse of forty armed deputies was appointed to assist deputy U. S. Marshals Carmichael and George McOuatt in their mission. That public opinion was largely on the side of West was shown by the immense crowds at the railway station on his departure, also by the fact that there were obstructions on the railroad at two points within ten miles of Indianapolis, and by the further fact that the brakeman who went upon the platform to release the brake was hit by "a missile in the hands of some Black Republican in ambush."⁴ The *Sentinel* is likewise authority for the statement that it cost Dr. Vallandigham \$750.00 to 'get his nigger home', after an absence of three years; for he had hired him out as a fireman on a Kentucky River boat in 1854 and had not seen him since.

One scene of this drama which had in it an element of comedy was thus described by Julian many years later: "The counsel for the negro, with some dozen or more who joined us, resolved upon one further effort to save him. The project

4. *Ibid.* Dec. 8, 1857.

was that two or three men selected for the purpose were to ask of the jailer the privilege of seeing West the next morning in order to bid him good-bye, and while one of the party should engage the jailer in conversation the negro was to make for the door, mount a horse hitched near by, and escape. The enterprise had a favorable beginning. The negro got out, mounted a horse, and might have escaped if he had been a good horseman; but he was awkward and clumsy to the last degree, and unfortunately got on the wrong horse, a very poor traveller, and when he saw the jailer in pursuit, and heard the report of his revolver, he surrendered and was at once escorted south. This is the only penitentiary offense of which I have been guilty and I now confess it, although I had no disposition to do so at the time.”⁵

The action of the Indiana Republican convention on March 4, 1858, in refusing to stand by the Philadelphia platform and in endorsing the principle of popular sovereignty in the territories, Julian regarded as “a shameless retreat in the face of an advancing foe” and predicted disastrous results. For months he had done his best by means of letters, in conversation, and publicly whenever the occasion presented itself, to inform the people in regard to the critical situation:—the wickedness of Douglas’ doctrine of popular sovereignty, the danger that Kansas would be ad-

5. Unpublished *Autobiography*.

mitted with her Lecompton Constitution sanctioning slavery, and that the North would again be frightened into submission by the cry of disunion. He insisted that Morton's rulings as chairman of the convention were unfair, and that the real convictions of the delegates were overborne by the politicians in control. "It seems impossible for our leaders to profit by past mistakes or to be weaned from the besetting infatuation of supposing that the success of our cause depends upon artfully evading or concealing the issues which give it all its real strength."⁶

On reading the platform adopted by this convention, the speeches of the wheel-horses of the party, and the deliverances of the newspapers of the period, one is forced to admit that clear-cut utterances did not characterize the Republicanism of the state, and that the chief aim of the party appeared to be to place the Democratic administration in the worst possible light. This is confirmed by the statement of a recent investigator to the effect that "the Republicans (of Indiana in 1858) were more of an opposition party than a party with definite principles."⁷

That Julian was not without support in his position is shown by the determination of friends that he should seek the Republican nomination for Congress in his district this year, a venture in which he would probably have been successful but

6. Julian's *Journal*, April 5, 1858.

7. Charles Zimmerman, *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. XIII, p. 361.

for the scheme of opposing candidates, engineered by those local politicians to whom his positive views were an abomination, in adjourning the convention to a later date in order that a combination might be effected against him. Burdened in mind by his wife's condition, he yet made a canvass, which he considered worth while in that it kept before the people the real issues confronting the country. Although defeated for the nomination, he was on the stump till the State election, being the only Republican of prominence in the district who made an extensive campaign. Morton delivered but one speech after the Congressional nomination, although he had been active in preventing that honor from going to Julian. The latter considered the defeat of the Republican State ticket as directly traceable to the halting and cowardly tactics of the State convention. "On March 4th, we refused to affirm the duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories in order to secure anti-Lecompton votes. We did not get them, and our defeat is coupled with the profitless abandonment of our principles . . .

"The administration is overwhelmingly routed in the October and November elections. Buchanan is unmistakably Tylerized. The triumph in New York is glorious, for it was achieved in spite of Know Nothingism and in an honest struggle for Republican principles. Seward now stands higher than ever, and his recent speech at

Rochester may make him the rallying-point for radical Republicans in 1860. The one drawback to the general rejoicing over the downfall of the administration is the success of Douglas over Lincoln in Illinois. This is deeply to be regretted, for it rescues an altogether used-up demagogue from his merited political grave and fixes him as the candidate of the slave power for 1860; and a most formidable one he will be. His triumph is partly the fault of the Republicans in petting him at first, and partly the fault of Lincoln in trifling with the anti-slavery men of his State. However afflicting to Buchanan, Douglas' success is a pro-slavery victory of the worst possible character and is lamentable.”^s

During the closing weeks of this year Julian contributed a number of articles to the *True Republican*, a Centerville newspaper recently acquired and now edited by his younger brother, Isaac Hoover Julian. The titles of some of these indicate their purport,—“The Triumph of Douglas: Its Bitter Fruit”, “The Cincinnati Gazette—Admission of Free States”, “The New York Tribune and the Presidency”. It is easy to see that although interested to some extent in state and county politics Julian's viewpoint was largely determined by national rather than local issues.

8. Julian's *Journal*, Dec. 5, 1858. Rhodes explains Lincoln's failure to measure up to the full Republican stature at this time by the statement that he had “never been through the Free Soil stage”, but had acquiesced in the Compromise of 1850, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise being necessary to determine him to gauge political action by the slavery question. Vol. II, p. 327.

A great struggle was on, a contest between two civilizations, and he had taken a definite position, determined by convictions which were absolute, precluding appeal. His ambition was that Indiana should array herself with the forces of 'Righteousness', and to this end the people must understand the situation. This was far more important in his eyes than that Republicans should secure office.⁹

That men of his type in other States were carrying on kindred educational propaganda is indicated by a letter from Giddings of January 2, 1859, in which he writes of a tour he is about to undertake in the southern part of Ohio "for the purpose of bringing up our Republicans who are wanting rigidity in the spinal column."¹⁰ Giddings had the advantage of Julian in being naturally more genial and less combative. He took life more gaily. With quite as much firmness and unbendingness when it came to a matter of principle, he was more lenient in his methods and made fewer personal enemies. However, it must be remembered that Giddings had an altogether different constituency with which to deal. The Western Reserve was a New England community, of unusual intelligence and naturally anti-slavery in their views, while eastern Indiana held a considerable number of transplanted southerners, men accustomed to more primitive manners and

9. Lew Wallace, in his *Autobiography*, p. 232, says that Julian "was from first to last more an enemy of slavery than a Republican".

10. Julian *Letters*.

modes of thought, who regarded slavery with indifference. Of course this characterization does not include the Quakers, who, although many of them came from North Carolina, belonged to a superior class morally, and among whom Julian's strongest supporters were found. His respect for Quakers was always marked, and their intelligent sympathy and help in his numerous fights perhaps constituted his chief outward reliance.

The year 1859, was occupied largely with professional and home duties, interspersed by a few political speeches and some miscellaneous addresses, one of the most popular being on "Mental Faithfulness". Business was increasingly good and several weeks were spent in the preparation of briefs of cases for the Supreme Court. The passing of his old Congressional antagonist, Samuel W. Parker, called forth serious reflections, and the deaths of Dr. Bailey of the *National Era* and of Horace Mann were set down as personal as well as political bereavements. He rejoiced when Iowa joined Ohio in reaffirming the Philadelphia platform, and when Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont followed suit. The numerous celebrations of the anniversary of Jefferson's birth this year were gratifying too, for he believed devoutly in the fundamental principles of government enunciated by our third President and rejoiced that they were thus called to public attention. In pocket note-books prepared for use in every political campaign are numerous quotations from Jefferson and Madison, showing how

thoroughly he had familiarized himself with those principles which he used with telling force to condemn the party claiming Madison and Jefferson as its patron saints.

Among the books read with Mrs. Julian at this time were the *Experiences of Theodore Parker as a Minister*, Dr. Priestley's *Corruptions of Christianity*, and the writings of James Martineau, with such lighter fare as "the inimitable articles of the Professor" in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

The startling raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, in October, the expulsion of Rev. John G. Fee and his associates from Kentucky because of their anti-slavery testimonies, the driving out of Texas of members of the Methodist Church North, and the imprisonment of Rev. Daniel Worth in North Carolina for circulating Helper's *Impending Crisis* showed, he thought, that slavery was to have a much speedier end than had heretofore seemed probable and that "in blood if not peaceably through the ballot-box the close of this colossal iniquity draws nigh". With John Brown, Julian had no personal acquaintance, and in common with the great majority of people everywhere he was shocked at the madness of his desperate undertaking, but Brown's heroic attitude in the face of death excited his admiration, as recorded in *Political Recollections*. And he seems to have felt intuitively that the whole affair was a link in the chain of evidence by which slavery was being condemned and repudiated. Both Fee and Worth were personal friends with whom

GEORGE W. JULIAN

he was in correspondence at intervals, and a letter from the latter seems to belong here, as it illustrates the character of many of the men who were enlisted in the great anti-slavery crusade:

“In Prison, Greensboro, N. C. Feb. 6, 1860

“Hon. Geo. W. Julian

My dear Friend:

Your line addressed me at this place reached me some days ago, but the inclemency of wintry weather in a jail has precluded the use of a pen until this morning. I most sincerely thank you for your kind remembrance of me as a fellow laborer in the days of other years in the great cause of humanity; but more especially does your warm sympathy meet my needs in this my trial hour. At sixty-five a prison is but a dreary abode, travelling the down hill of life with accompanying physical infirmities. Yet I have my consolations. Though prosecuted as a criminal, faithful conscience witnesses that I have intended wrong to none; neither has any injury accrued to any, to master or slave, as far as I know, in consequence of my labors in Carolina. Yes, I have consolations:—that under God’s grace and as I trust with His divine approval, I have been endeavoring in my small measure to make the world a little better. Though almost excluded from society (except my prison associates, and I could wish entire seclusion from them rather than be compelled to hear their horrid oaths and blasphemies) yet how much better is mine than the case of Selkirk on his lonely island! Yet even in his case the saintly

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Cowper finds cause of gratitude, and even puts in his mouth the words of thankfulness couched in those beautiful lines,

‘There is mercy in every place,
And mercy, encouraging thought,
Gives even affliction a grace,
And reconciles man to his lot.’

“You will probably wish to know something of the character of my case. It has sometimes been mis-stated in the papers. I am indicted in two counties under two sections of the criminal code. First, for circulating books deemed incendiary, second, for words spoken which it is alleged ‘excite in slaves and free negroes a spirit of insurrection, conspiracy or rebellion’. These charges will probably form two counts in each indictment. If convicted under the first, the penalty is imprisonment not less than one year, and whipping and pillory at the discretion of the Court for the first offense; second offense death. If convicted of inciting slaves by words spoken, the penalty is for the first offense thirty-nine lashes; second, death. You see these are tremendous penalties. Of this last, my attorneys do not think me in much danger. The book, Helper’s *Impending Crisis*, is the greatest danger. My lawyers rely on the fact that the book was never offered to a slave or free negro, and therefore cannot fill the statute, as the slave could not be made discontented with his bondage nor the free negro with his social condition by a book which they had

never seen. The whole case will turn upon this point. Others are indicted as well as myself. The first case comes for trial on the fourth Monday in March, the next, fourth Monday in April. Friends will inquire of you perhaps; [and] you can show them this letter or use it otherwise at your discretion. Letters of Christian feeling and sympathy from old friends are earnestly solicited, only let them be moderate in tone, otherwise they will do more hurt than good.

Truly your sincere friend and brother in bonds,
D. Worth.

P. S. Should be pleased with a line from you at any time.”¹¹

It is not known what part Julian took in this case, but he probably rendered such assistance as lay in his power. A number of letters remain to testify to the close and friendly relations existing between him and Mr. Fee and to the saintly bearing of the latter under all circumstances.¹²

Towards the close of the year 1859 Julian had the misfortune one night to walk into an open ditch four feet deep on his way to the Richmond railway station, causing a sprain which disabled him for months at a time when he could least

11. *Ibid.*

12. Some thirty-five years later Mr. Fee with his faithful and valiant wife, both aged only in years, paid a visit to Julian, and the conversations of the three survivors of those early and strenuous days were worth going far to hear.

afford to be idle. Court was in session, his approaching campaign (for it was well understood that he was again to seek the Congressional nomination) demanded attention, and debts were accumulating. He never bore physical suffering with any meekness, and his account of this period of enforced idleness and the various remedies employed, among them magnetism three times a day and finally "the laying on of hands" by an eccentric character named Jonathan Huddleston, a spiritualist, is amusing. As in 1849, he survived the several assaults of the medical profession and other remedial agencies, and was able in March to discard crutches and go on two sticks.

Julian's pleasure at receiving the Republican nomination for Congress in April, 1860, was quite outweighed by the gloom occasioned by Mrs. Julian's marked decline, and the summer and autumn were chiefly devoted to her. Among the first to congratulate him on his nomination were old Free Soil friends of the Thirty-first Congress, the following being one of many communications received at this time:

"Columbus, April 9, 1860.

Dear Julian:

I congratulate you with all my heart, and your district as warmly, on your nomination. Your election is a fixed fact. So our principles prevail. You know that in my eagerness to have you recognized as your abilities demand I have been anxious that you should *comply* a little more than

you have done—not by yielding in principle—but by supporting those opposed to the anti-slavery party, though not so *decided* against slavery as yourself. But it seems you have judged most wisely.

Let me hear from you.

Cordially and faithfully,

S. P. Chase”.¹³

Two letters relative to the nomination of Lincoln by the Chicago convention possess more than a passing interest to the student of history. It will be remembered that Giddings, a delegate to the convention but not a member of the Resolutions committee, had moved to amend the platform submitted by inserting that portion of the Philadelphia platform of 1856 reaffirming the “self-evident truths” of the Declaration of Independence. This was voted down, but later, through the efforts of George William Curtis, was carried, and the incident was described as one of the most thrilling of the entire convention.

“Centerville, Ind., May 21, 1860.

“Hon. J. R. Giddings—

“Dear Sir:

I was much gratified to find you acting the part you did at Chicago. The conservatives evidently meant to cheat us. I wish you could find time to give me a line or two relative to a few points. One is, how it happened that Chase made so poor a show. Another, why the Chase men, and you

13. Julian *Letters*.

I suppose among them, opposed Seward. I was for Chase, but Seward was my next choice, though I was not enthused by reason of his cold speech in the Senate. I have however become excited over the matter since hearing of the general combination to crush him, especially on the part of the Doughface Republicans of this state and Pennsylvania.

"I will be greatly obliged for reliable information on another point: Did Lane of this State threaten to decline the race for Governor and give up the contest if Seward should be nominated? The anti-slavery men here want to know how this is, for though they will cordially support Lincoln, and have perhaps as much faith in him as in Seward, they will not relish the idea of supporting a candidate for Governor who only labors for the spoils. Please let me hear from you in reply and oblige

Very truly your friend."

George W. Julian.

P. S. I was overwhelmingly nominated on the first Monday in April and shall be elected if I live. Mrs. Julian is in declining health and has been ever since you were here. Accept our kind regards.¹⁴

To this Mr. Giddings replied as follows:

Jefferson, Ohio, May 25, 1860

"My dear Julian:

I reached home from the convention yesterday,

14. *Ibid.*

and found yours of the 21st. I was glad to hear from you, but greatly pained to learn of Mrs. Julian's ill health. I trust she may soon be restored.

"The great mass of the convention was right, but a few wire-workers, Doughface tricksters, managed to get the committee arranged so as to leave out the inalienable rights of man. I moved to insert it. Cartter, [of Ohio] who led the Doughfaces, replied that it was *in the platform*, and under that impression they voted down my proposition. I took my hat and left the convention. Mr. Curtis of New York moved to insert it in another place and it was almost unanimously adopted,¹⁵ and Cartter's course was regarded with disgust by most of the members.

"The reason that Chase was so soon dropped was that his leading friends, appointed at his request, wanted to substitute Wade for him, and gave out notice, as soon as they reached Chicago, that we were only to give Chase a *complimentary vote* and then go for Wade. I endeavored to have Chase's friends withdraw his name altogether, before going into the first ballot. Had I been in his place, I would not have had my name trifled with in that manner.

"Strong objections were urged against Seward. His friends disgusted members by their constant

15. Mr. Curtis afterwards said that when he saw Giddings departing from the hall it seemed to him that "the original impulse of the party was leaving the convention in his person." Julian, *Life of Giddings*, p. 373.

assertions that they had the money to secure his election, that they could buy up the doubtful States, etc., etc. I do not believe that Seward himself consented to this or knew that his friends were placing him in this light. Greeley made a poor display of himself. He was on the committee on platform, and exerted his utmost power, I am told, to keep out the assertion of man's inalienable rights; called it a stump speech, etc., etc., and when he saw that Bates could do nothing he became rabid against Seward.

"As to Lincoln, I would trust him on the subject of slavery as soon as I would Chase or Seward. I have been well acquainted with him and I think I understand his whole character. I know him to be *honest* and faithful.

"Lane was at my room. Spoke freely. Said it would be difficult and he feared impossible to carry your State for Seward, but would insure it for Lincoln. Indeed, Lincoln was selected on account of his *location*, not because of objection to Seward or Chase, but because being a western man, located in Illinois, he was supposed able to carry that State and Indiana and was acceptable to Pennsylvania.

"It is also true that some of the Doughfaces seemed to think him more popular because his anti-slavery sentiments had been less prominent. I was rejoiced to hear of your nomination, and would advise you to go right into the work. Assume the whole movement to be anti-slavery, and

on that account call on men to support it, and if any man fails, after election hold him up as an apostate from the faith.

Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Julian, and believe me

Faithfully,

J. R. Giddings.”¹⁶

Although Julian had hoped for the nomination of Chase or Seward at Chicago, he at once set about addressing ratification meetings, speaking at points near home whenever Mrs. Julian’s condition permitted.

In his grief following the death of his wife, which occurred a few days after the November election, he turned to spiritualism, studying the subject with the same thoroughness that he would bestow upon a scientific proposition. “I am investigating it with all my might,” he wrote in February, 1861.¹⁷ He wanted to believe in it and to have actual manifestation of its truth, as Giddings and others assured him would be the case; but his very eagerness prevented that “calm” which they predicated as a necessary condition precedent. The fact that Mrs. Julian herself had become interested in this philosophy during the last months of her life and had assured him that she would make herself known to him if possible, doubtless led him to pursue the subject longer than would otherwise have been the case; but

16. Julian *Letters*.

17. Julian’s *Journal*.

although he had some remarkable experiences, which he could not explain, he was not converted to this comforting belief.

His practical mind seemed instinctively to turn away from the "twilights of thought" to the clear sunshine of reason and in regard to the various so-called demonstrations of spiritual mediums he used to quote Emerson's words: "Shun them as you would the secrets of the undertaker and the butcher. . . . The whole world is an omen and a sign. Why look so wistfully in a corner?" Letters of condolence poured in upon him, among the most prized being those from Giddings, Chase, Durkee, Preston King, and other old Free Soil friends between whom and himself there was that sympathetic understanding that comes from fighting shoulder to shoulder in a worthy cause. But in spite of an abiding faith in personal immortality which steadily strengthened with the years, death meant the severing of the sweetest ties of life here, and was therefore a dispensation the bitterness of which time only could soften or assuage.¹⁸

18. Chase's letter is given because of its political bearing:

"Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 15, 1860.

My dear friend:

My heart sympathizes with you profoundly in your great bereavement. I do not wonder that the world looks dark. I know the trial. But the sources of consolation are not unknown to you, and Faith will lead you to them. May God bless you!

I do not think that Mr. Lincoln will disappoint the true Republicans who voted for him. He may not be so radical as some would wish, but he is, I am confident, perfectly sincere and will never surrender our principles or seek to abase our standard or countenance any

attempt to make our party other than what the nature of things and the need of the time require it to be, a truly Republican party out of which a genuine democracy will in good time arise.

I have no aspirations of a personal character. If I had I would confide them to you readily and with a full confidence in your disposition to serve me as far as you honorably could. Many, as you doubtless see, desire that I should take a place in the Cabinet. My wishes do not point that way, nor have I much reason to think that Mr. Lincoln will offer me such a position. If the offer be made, it will be considered with every wish to do what is really best for Mr. Lincoln and our cause, and my decision will be formed, I hope, as much at least by what may seem to be duty as by inclination.

Yours cordially,

S. P. Chase."

CHAPTER IX

*Visits Lincoln—Letter From Chase—Office
Seekers—Inauguration of Lincoln—Thirty-
Seventh Congress—Julian's Radical-
ism—Fremont's Proclamation Au-
gust 30, 1861—Committee on
Conduct of the War—
Speeches—Letter from
Lydia Maria Child*

In order to form a personal acquaintance with the President-elect who was soon to enter upon a task more difficult than had fallen to the lot of any Executive since the formation of the government, and also for the purpose of protesting against the appointments of Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania and Caleb B. Smith of Indiana to Cabinet positions, Julian visited Springfield, Ill., early in January, 1861. The fact that Lincoln was a southerner by birth and had voted for Taylor and Scott in those two critical elections when the foundations of anti-slavery revolt were being laid, coupled with the further fact that his nomination had been secured by one of those political bargains in which the ablest men are often sacrificed on the plea of availability, prejudiced him against the giant whose real greatness the future was to develop and reveal. Lincoln's "plain western manners and old-fashioned ap-

pearance" at once appealed to Julian, however, and he also notes in his *Journal* "a care-worn sad expression about his face which awakens sympathy."¹

His mission was not successful as far as it related to Smith and Cameron. Lincoln declared that he could not disregard the pledges made by his friends previous to his nomination at Chicago. The brief tenure however, by both these men of the places to which they were appointed was gratifying to Julian, who found no occasion for revising his opinion as to the fitness of their selection. Smith he knew as an old Whig who had opposed Free Soil principles in those early days when the struggle to secure for them a foothold in Indiana was desperate, and Cameron was distasteful from the fact that his name had already come to stand for political crookedness and trickery, as well as because he belonged to the conciliatory and temporizing wing of the Republican party. Cameron was backed by Seward and Thurlow Weed, who strongly opposed the appointment of Chase to a cabinet position, and in view of the imbroglio incident thereto the following letter is of interest:

"Columbus, January 16, '61.

Dear Julian:

"Mr. Lincoln is worthy of the high esteem you express for him. If he only possesses himself of full information and then acts not on the

1. Julian's *Journal*, January 16, 1861; also *Political Recollections*, pp. 182-183.

views of others but in conformity with the dictates of his own sound judgment, all will, by God's blessing, be well. I concur with you as to the inexpediency of the selection of the gentleman you name² for a seat in the Cabinet, and have taken the liberty of so advising Mr. Lincoln.

"As to myself, *all* personal considerations and some important public considerations are against my taking the Treasury Department. The subject was canvassed between myself and Mr. Lincoln. If he concurs with me in thinking it best that I remain in the Senate, he will not tender me the post; if he concludes otherwise and signifies by a tender that he thinks I ought to take it (which I hope will not be the case) I shall consider the offer with an anxious wish to do whatever may be best for the general interest.

"The future seems quite gloomy to me. I see no practical adjustment offered. I see not indeed how one can be offered with a hope of doing good until after the inauguration. Then I think we Republicans who are thought too *earnest* (to use the soft word) for good policy might be able to demonstrate that earnestness and good policy are nearer allied than some people imagine.

"What do you think of Seward's speech?—It is not so wrong as I feared—it is not so good as I hoped.³

Your friend, S. P. Chase."⁴

2. Whether Cameron or Smith does not appear.

3. Delivered in the U.S. Senate, Jan. 12, 1861. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong. 2nd Sess. pp. 341-44.

4. Julian *Letters*.

Late in February, Julian went to Washington in order to witness the inaugural ceremonies, another and compelling motive being his desire to escape from the throngs of office seekers who besieged him during the first two months of the New Year. By railroad, in carriages, and on horse they came, from all parts of the district and beyond. His account of this experience constitutes an interesting commentary on the Spoils System and a telling plea in behalf of Civil Service Reform, the initial steps in the accomplishment of which may well have been hastened by the sickening experiences of this first Republican regime. So engrossing were the demands of the would-be office holders that attention to professional or private matters was out of the question; nor was the situation improved by going to Washington, for there huge bundles of communications from anxious patriots awaited his arrival, while hungry aspirants met him at every turn, asking for letters of recommendation, introduction, and so forth. To a man of Julian's temperament and ideals it was cause both for dismay and humiliation that at a period when the gravest questions were before the people, and when the whole country was shadowed with anxiety as to the future, his time and that of so many others should be consumed in wrangling over postmasterships, mail agencies, and similar comparatively unimportant matters. He was however, quite indisposed to permit men whom he regarded as mere political schemers, afraid to avow the full Repub-

lican creed, and who had moreover done their best to compass his defeat in the late election, to dictate in such matters, and it is needless to say that he threw himself into these struggles with his habitual earnestness and vim. Those who sought his aid at this time were by no means all from Indiana. Many were from remote sections of the country, among them a number of old Free Soilers whose letters remain to testify to the widespread demand for office under the new administration. Artemus Ward's (Charles Farrar Brown) account of a call he made on Lincoln soon after the election, in which he encountered swarms of office seekers filling the house, door yard, woodshed and barn, even sliding down the chimneys and crawling between Lincoln's legs, throws strong light on the situation, and is evidently freer from exaggeration than might be supposed.

Julian found the national capital little changed during the ten years since he had seen it. But this only emphasized anew his own altered life, the one mitigation to his loneliness being the reunion with old Free Soil friends. Although in some respects the political atmosphere had improved, it was still "a city of Secessionists", and none knew precisely what the immediate future held in store. Seven states had withdrawn from the Union, Jefferson Davis had been elected President of the "Confederate States of America", and although Abraham Lincoln was peacefully in-

augurated it was clearly seen that civil war was inevitable. In view of this situation, it seemed to many that no adequate measures were being taken to protect the Capitol or to prepare for the struggle. The Bull Run disaster, which only "a lucky accident" prevented Julian from witnessing along with other members of Congress, appeared to him "the natural fruit of the soil in which it grew", and although he voted for the Confiscation Act of August 6, 1861, as he did for all party measures throughout the war, he regarded it as by no means sufficiently sweeping. He considered it too much "like an enactment intended to notify the rebels that we are slightly inclined to take our own part, but very anxious to do so in such manner as shall occasion them the least possible inconvenience."⁵

The blood of fighting French and German ancestors, mingling with Scotch Conventer and anti-slavery Quaker strains, was not calculated to produce a milk-and-water precipitate, and this must always be borne in mind in considering Julian's course. He did not hastily form conclusions, but once he had taken a stand on a question involving fundamental principles, he was ready to meet "a world in arms", and could be satisfied with no half-way measures. Carl Schurz says in his *Reminiscences* that when some one asked Senator Sumner if he had ever looked at the other side of the slavery question, he answered, "There

5. Julian's *Journal*, Sept. 5, 1861.

is no other side", and Schurz avers that Sumner was not merely *unwilling* to envisage the alternative, but incapable of doing so. "The peremptoriness of his convictions was so strong that it was difficult for him to understand how anyone could seriously consider 'the other side' without being led astray by some moral obliquity".⁶ Julian's temperament was much the same, and perhaps this may help to make clear his uncompromising attitude on more than one occasion and his impatience with those whose conclusions did not coincide with his own. Since human slavery was an unmixed evil, it must be opposed at every step within constitutional limits; this he had always contended. He had seen northern men cower and give way for years before threats of dissolving the Union. Within the past few months he had witnessed various abject offers of compromise on the part of the north, the most shocking being the proposition, acquiesced in by President Lincoln so to amend the Federal Constitution as to perpetuate slavery in the southern states; and he had seen all these overtures stubbornly rejected. By the action of the south, the two great forces, so long glowering at one another, were now in mortal combat, and it was his firm conviction that as slavery was the real bone of contention the true policy of the administration was to say so, and thus enlist a tremendous moral sentiment in defense of the Union.

6. Schurz' *Reminiscences*, Vol. II, p. 312.

Julian knew all the arguments on the other side:—fear of the border slave states, divisions among loyal men, military unpreparedness, and so forth. But as he was by nature a radical, so he was also a born democrat. He felt sure that the people of the loyal states were far in advance of the politicians, and that upon their apprehension of the issues involved depended the success of the Union cause. Accordingly, on the adjournment of the special session he hastened home and at once entered upon a speaking tour of his district, partly for the purpose of raising recruits for sundry regiments organizing at Richmond, and partly to assist in bringing up public sentiment to its true level in regard to the issues involved in the war. He well knew that in the campaign in which he now engaged he was without the sympathy of those members of his party less deeply indoctrinated with anti-slavery principles, that the machine as usual was against him, and that plans were already being laid for his retirement at the end of his present term. “Political life is uncertain at best”, he wrote at this time, “and I have no desire to continue in office by keeping mum on vital issues.”⁷

Fremont’s proclamation of August 30, 1861, confiscating the property and declaring free the slaves of “all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or shall be directly proven to have taken an active

7. Julian’s *Journal*, Sept. 5, 1861.

part with their enemies in the field" was warmly applauded by Julian, as it was by Sumner and other radical Republicans. They saw in it a direct blow at slavery and were accordingly disappointed by the President's modification of the order. Great excitement prevailed throughout the Northwest over this affair, public sentiment being strongly with Fremont, and Lincoln's reasons,—that Fremont's order did not conform to the Confiscation Act of August 6th and was displeasing to the border States, were by no means satisfactory to men of this view. "It is known that General Fremont's proclamation was modified to accommodate the loyal slaveholders of Kentucky; but what right, I ask, had the loyal men of that state to complain if the disloyal men of Missouri forfeited their slaves by treason? If pretended loyal men in Kentucky or elsewhere value slavery above the Union, then they are not loyal, and the attempt to make them so by concessions will be vain. A conditional Union man is no Union man at all. Loyalty must be absolute. 'If the Lord be God, serve Him; but if Baal, serve *him*'. There can be no middle ground."^s

In the Thirty-seventh Congress, which dealt with some of the most momentous and perplexing questions that had presented themselves since the formation of the government, and the proceedings of which occupy seven large volumes of the *Congressional Globe*, Julian was a member of

8. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 173. *Globe*, 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 331.

the Committee on Public Lands, of the Committee on Public Expenditures, and also of an important new committee, a Joint Committee of both Houses on the Conduct of the War. The creation of this committee grew out of a widespread feeling of doubt and uncertainty following the battle of Bull Run and the affair of Ball's Bluff in which Colonel Edward D. Baker, recently a Senator from Oregon who had resigned his seat in order to enter the service and who was a close friend of President Lincoln, lost his life. Other military blunders aggravated this feeling, which was also increased by the prolonged delay of General McClellan in taking the offensive.

When McClellan was appointed by the President to succeed General McDowell in command of the Army of the Potomac soon after the Battle of Bull Run, all the resources of the government were freely and eagerly placed at the young general's disposal. Other commanders were deprived of men in order to swell that great mass of fighting material, McClellan's extravagant demands being complied with to the limit of the government's capacity. But when month after month passed, characterized by glorious weather, with nothing to show except the blockade of the Potomac by the Confederate forces and the sacrifice at Ball's Bluff, although the army of the Potomac aggregated at least 170,000 men in fighting trim while General Johnston's effective force was

known to be less than 50,000, confidence gave way to chagrin and impatience.

The Joint Resolution providing for the Committee on the Conduct of the War did not specifically define the scope of its activities, but its members interpreted their chief function to be "to obtain such information as the many laborious duties of the President and his Cabinet prevented them from acquiring, and to lay it before them with such recommendations and suggestions as seemed to be most imperatively demanded."⁹ Particular instructions came to the committee from time to time from both Houses of Congress, and the President and Secretary of War likewise laid various matters before it for investigation and report.

The Senate members of the Committee on the Conduct of the War were Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, chairman; Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, while the House members consisted of Daniel W. Gooch of Massachusetts, John Covode of Pennsylvania, George W. Julian of Indiana, and Moses F. Odell of New York. Senator Wade, the Chairman, was the oldest member, having been born in Massachusetts in 1800. Removing to Ohio at an early age, he became a lawyer and had now been in the Senate for ten years. One of the most outspoken among the so-called radicals, he had joined with Senators Trumbull and Chandler in October pre-

9. Report of *Committee on Conduct of the War*, 37th Cong. 3rd Sess. Part 1, p. 4.

vious in urging upon President Lincoln the importance of directing General McClellan to make a move on the enemy without further delay, only to be told by Lincoln that McClellan himself was the best judge as to this. The latter's elevation to the command of all the armies of the United States in place of General Winfield Scott resigned, followed almost immediately.

Zachariah Chandler, born in New Hampshire in 1813, was a merchant by profession, and had succeeded Lewis Cass as Senator from Michigan in 1857. A man of unquestioned integrity and ability, he too ranked among radicals during that troubled period. Andrew Johnson, then fifty-three years of age, had already had an eventful career, having risen from tailor to the Governorship of Tennessee, where he had served two terms, before entering the United States Senate in 1857. His appointment by President Lincoln as Military Governor of Tennessee in March, 1862, cut short his work with the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and he was succeeded by Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, who had just entered the Senate after serving his State as Governor for two terms and filling the post of Minister to Prussia for several years. Daniel W. Gooch, a graduate of Dartmouth College and a lawyer, was the youngest member of the committee, being less than forty-two. He had served in the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses, and was one of the most active members of the committee. John Covode, a Pennsylvania farmer and manufac-

turer, born in 1808, had represented his state in Congress since 1855. Moses F. Odell had been active in New York politics from an early age, having held office under both Presidents Polk and Buchanan before entering the present Congress.

This was the personnel of the Committee on the Conduct of the War during the Thirty-seventh Congress. Two years later, Benjamin F. Harding, a new senator from Oregon, succeeded Joseph A. Wright, but resigned within a month and was replaced by Charles R. Buckalew, recently appointed to the Senate from Pennsylvania. Covode's place was taken by Benjamin F. Loan, a newly elected Representative from Missouri. The arduous and useful labors of this committee have not yet been recognized in proportion to their real value. Meetings were held in the room of the Senate Committee on Territories, in the basement of the Capitol, a dingy and quite inadequate apartment where appeared from time to time all the great Union commanders. One can see in imagination the long line of blue-coated officers, McDowell, Burnside, Halleck, Hooker, McClellan, Sherman, Grant, Meade, Sheridan, Fremont, Pope, Rosecrans and the rest, worn and worried, pausing in the midst of the greatest undertaking of their generation, to tell what they knew and sometimes what they surmised. There too came in answer to summons government officials, special agents, civilians,—all who might

shed any light on the vexatious and frequently baffling situations that presented themselves.¹⁰

The members of this War Committee, meeting usually every day or every other day, came to know one another very well, and their service presented a unique opportunity to acquaint themselves with that which went on behind the scenes and with the men who were primarily responsible for the preservation of the nation's life. Subcommittees were designated to visit battlefields and to interview witnesses immediately following important engagements, as in the case of the Battle of Fredericksburg. Full reports were made to the entire committee, whose proceedings, including the *Journal* and testimony, comprise eight large volumes. Here one gets first hand details as to military matters great and small. Lincoln's too great patience with McClellan, his kind yet firm manner of reproving the latter, his slyly humorous thrusts, the persistent and finally successful efforts of the Committee on the Conduct of the War to induce Lincoln to force McClellan into action and to divide his immense army into army corps,—all this and much more is clearly set forth and forms one of the most important chapters of the history of the Civil War.

The account of General Fremont, Colonel Blair and the army contracts commands close attention,

10. For a discussion of the activities of the Committee on Conduct of the War, see William Whatley Pierson, Jr., *American Historical Review*, Apr., 1918, Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 550-576.

showing Fremont in anything but a favorable light. This must have been especially painful to Julian, for between the two families had sprung up a pleasant intimacy and many letters from Jessie Benton Fremont on the subject of her husband's "persecutions" remain to testify alike to her unremitting efforts to vindicate him and to the Pathfinder's easy-going ways and colossal ambition.¹¹ Quite as absorbing are the narratives of General Grant's operations, of the Sherman-Johnston affair, rebel atrocities, and kindred matters. One seems to come very close to both witnesses and members of the committee and to breathe the tense and troubled atmosphere of that crucial period. Senator Wade, as Chairman, naturally took the lead in interrogatories, although every member was at liberty to break in at any point with such questions as might suggest themselves. One notes that Julian rarely failed to take up the examination when the subject of slavery was touched upon, or of contrabands, or the reliability of information gained through negroes by our troops, or their efficiency as soldiers.

In addition to the absorbing duties of these committees, into the deliberations of all of which he threw himself with characteristic energy, Julian kept abreast of whatever other business came before the House. It was evidently not then customary for members to absent themselves day after day from their posts of duty, and this Hoosier Congressman chides himself in the pages

11. Julian *Letters*.

of his *Journal* when he misses a vote, even though it could not have altered the result. On December 20th, he offered a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to report a bill so amending the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 as to forbid the recapture and return of fugitives from labor without proof first made by claimant of loyalty to the government. William S. Holman, a Democratic colleague from Indiana, promptly moved to table this resolution, but his motion failed and the resolution carried by a vote of 78 to 39.¹² When in the following June, however, Julian proposed that the Judiciary Committee be instructed to report a bill repealing the Fugitive Slave Act, Holman's motion to table carried by a vote of 66 to 51, Albert G. Porter of Indiana being one of sixteen Republicans who voted in the affirmative.¹³ As an illustration of the caution and conservatism of Republican tactics it is noteworthy that when in the succeeding Congress, Julian renewed his effort at repeal of this very obnoxious measure, the vote to table, again on Holman's motion stood 82 to 73.¹⁴

Twice during this session Julian addressed the House. His speech of January 14, 1862, on "The Cause and Cure of our National Troubles" called forth more favorable comment perhaps than any he ever delivered.¹⁵ Declining to accept the pop-

12. *Globe*, 37th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 158.

13. *Ibid.* p. 2623.

14. *Globe*, 38th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 22.

15. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 154. *Globe*, 37th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 327.

ular fallacy which charged secession to the democratic theory of state rights, he insisted that there were such things as state rights, notwithstanding the efforts of rebels to make them a cloak for treason. However, "It was not jealousy of the Federal power", said he, "that prompted the rebel States to secede, but their inability longer to rule the national government in the interest of slavery. It was not jealousy of the aggressions of the state governments that gave birth to the Dred Scott decision, but the influence of that same slave power sitting like a throned monarch on the Supreme Bench in perverting the powers of the government. Whether the Constitution has been made to dip towards centralization or state rights, the disturbing element has uniformly been slavery. This is the unclean spirit that from the beginning has needed exorcism. Without it there were not defects enough in the system of government which our fathers left us to endanger its success or seriously to disturb its equilibrium. . . .

"Sir, this rebellion is a bloody and frightful demonstration of the fact that slavery and freedom cannot dwell together in peace. The experiment has been tried thoroughly, perseveringly, with a patience which defied despair, and has culminated in Civil War. We have pursued the spirit of conciliation to the very gates of death, and yet the 'irrepressible conflict' is upon us and must work out its needed lesson. I do not refer to our uniform forbearance towards slavery as

a virtue. On the contrary this has only maddened and emboldened its spirit, and hastened an event which was simply a question of time. We in the free states are not wholly guiltless, but I charge to the account of slavery that very timidity and lack of manhood in the north through which it has managed to rule the nation. It has prepared itself for its work of treason by feeding upon the virtue of our public men and demoralizing the spirit of our people. As an argument against slavery this rebellion is absolutely overwhelming. Other arguments, however convincing to men of reflection, have not thus far been able to rouse the mass of our people to any very earnest opposition to slavery upon principle; but this argument must prevail with every man who is not a rebel at heart. This black conspiracy against the life of the Republic, which has armed half a million men in its work of treason, piracy and murder, . . . is the crowning flower and fruit of our partnership with 'the sum of all villainies.' ”¹⁶

While waiving none of the humanitarian grounds on which he opposed slavery, he emphatically urged emancipation as a war measure:

“Sir, in such a contest we can spare no possible advantage. We want no ‘war conducted on peace principles’. Every weapon within our reach must be grasped. Every arrow in our quiver must be sped towards the heart of a rebel. Every obstacle in the path of our conquering hosts must

16. *Globe*, 37th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 328.

be trampled down. . . . I know it was not the purpose at first of this Administration to abolish slavery, but only to save the Union and maintain the old order of things. Neither was it the purpose of our fathers, in the beginning of the Revolution, to insist on independence. Before the first battles were fought a reconciliation could have been secured simply by removing the grievance which led to arms. But events soon prepared the people to demand absolute separation. Similar facts may tell the story of the present struggle. In its beginning neither the Administration nor the people foresaw its magnitude nor the extraordinary means it would employ in prosecuting its designs. The crisis has assumed new features as the war has progressed. The policy of emancipation has been born of the circumstances of the rebellion, which every hour more and more plead for it. 'Time makes more converts than reason'. I believe the popular demand now is, or soon will be, the total extirpation of slavery as the righteous purpose of the war and the only means of a lasting peace. We should not now agree, if it were proposed, to restore slavery to its ancient rights under the Constitution and allow it a new cycle of rebellion and crime."¹⁷

Quoting John Quincy Adams as to the war power of Congress, of the President, or of the Commander of the Army to order universal emancipation he continued:

17. *Ibid.* p. 331.

“This, Sir, is the grand weapon which the rebels have placed in our hands, and we should use it as a matter of unhesitating duty. Not that the Constitution is so absolutely perfect or so entirely sacred that we can in no event disregard it. The nation is greater than the Constitution because it made the Constitution. We had a country before we had a Constitution, and at all hazards we must save it. The Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution. Cases may arise in which patriotism itself may demand that we trample under our feet some of the most vital principles of the Constitution under the exigencies of war. But so far as emancipation is concerned . . . the Constitution itself recognizes the war power of the government, which the rebels have compelled us to employ against them. . . . Never perhaps in the history of any nation has so grand an opportunity presented itself for serving the interests of humanity and freedom. And our responsibility, commensurate with our power, can not be evaded. As we are freed from all antecedent obligations, we should deal with this remorseless oligarchy as if we were at the beginning of the nation’s life, and about to lay the foundations of empire in these States for ages to come. Our failure to give freedom to four millions of slaves would be a crime only to be measured by that of putting them in chains if they were free. If we could fully grasp this idea

our duty would become at once plain and imperative."

In answer to possible objections on the ground of injustice to the loyal slaveholders of the south he said:

"In the first place, I would pay to every loyal slave claimant, on due proof of loyalty, the fairly assessed value of his slaves. I would not do this as *compensation*, for no man should receive pay for robbing another of his earnings and plundering him of his humanity; but as a means of facilitating the settlement of our troubles and securing a lasting peace I would tax the treasury to this extent. From the beginning, slavery has been an immense pecuniary burden, and we can well afford to pay the amount which this policy would impose for the sake of getting rid of that burden forever."

Replying to a further objection to emancipation, namely, its danger, he declared that no possible consequences could be worse than destroying the government of the United States, the hope of the civilized world. "Do you ask me if I would 'turn the slaves loose?' I reply that this rebellion, threatening to desolate the land with the greatest assemblage of horrors ever witnessed on earth, is not the consequence of turning the slaves loose, but of holding them in chains. Do you ask me what I would do with these liberated millions? I answer by asking what they will do with us if we insist on keeping them in bondage?" In proof

of his contention that emancipation would be wise, safe and profitable both to master and slave, he pointed to the case of the British West Indies, where nearly a million slaves, far outnumbering the white population, were suddenly freed by an act of legislation, no violence following. In the Island of Jamaica thirty insurrections occurred during the century preceding emancipation, but not one had taken place since; violence and crime on the part of the negro race are not the concomitants of freedom, but the offspring of slavery. The slaves of the south when freed would have a vast region in which to develop and improve, a region where there was abundant need of their labor. They were not unfamiliar with industrial pursuits, and if compensated for their toil and acted upon by the renovating power of kindness, they would not only take care of themselves but become a mighty element of wealth in the latitudes of our country peculiarly suited to their constitution. Their local attachments were strong, and but for slavery they would not be found either in Canada or the northern States. In conclusion, he planted himself on the impregnable ground of right, without regard to supposed expediency. As he rejected Atheism, so he believed it safe to restore to our enslaved millions the title-deeds of their freedom; safe to give them a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; safe to recognize their rights of marriage and the sacredness of the family; safe to allow them the

untrammelled use of their powers of mind and body in the pursuit of their own highest good.¹⁸

This speech was prepared under difficulties, at a time when he was working twenty hours a day and when the maladies that pursued him during the rest of his life had unmistakably fastened themselves upon him. Delivered in advance of Thaddeus Stevens' plea for emancipation as a war measure, and more than eight months before President Lincoln's preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation, it undoubtedly was of real service in educating public opinion and in hastening the adoption of a more thorough-going policy in the conduct of the war. It was read aloud in law offices, grocery stores, and wherever men congregated to discuss the issues of the day; it was quoted in pulpits on Sunday evenings, and its wide dissemination through pamphlets and newspapers familiarized people with the most advanced Republicanism.¹⁹

The Congressional speech perhaps reached the hey-day of its power during the Civil War, and was quite as much the creator as the

18. *Ibid.* pp. 329-332.

19. Julian's *Scrap-book*. Rev. George B. Cheever of New York City, wrote on January 23, 1862: "Permit me to thank you for your admirable and forceful speech which I have just had the pleasure of perusing through the loan of our friend Mr. Goodell's copy of the *Globe*. It strikes me as the ablest speech on this great subject delivered in the House. And is there not some hope that the President may yet be moved in the right direction before it is too late? How truly you say, 'If we expect the favor of God we must lay hold of the *conscience* of our quarrel'! God bless you, my dear sir, for this effort. I shall take the liberty of quoting from your speech in my discourse on Sabbath evening."

reflection of public opinion. The state of the country awakened in every member the best thought of which he was capable and this thought sometimes expressed itself in words that were shot and shell. They not only found a ready echo in the hearts of the people of the loyal States, but their influence was savingly felt in our armies, where they were plentifully scattered in pamphlet and newspaper editions. Many of those speeches are now prophecies fulfilled and are still valuable as instructive memorials of the great war for the Union and of the strongly stated grounds on which it was fought; and their authors may fairly divide the honors with our great military commanders whose victories depended so largely upon the roused spirit of the people and the conscience of their cause. "He who moulds public sentiment," said Lincoln, "goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions."

The old Abolitionists were especially gratified with Julian's speech. Gerrit Smith, William Lloyd Garrison, Lydia Maria Child, and Oliver Johnson, were among the first to thank him and all asked for copies for distribution. Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* wrote that he was using liberal extracts in all editions of his paper, thus giving it a circulation of nearly sixty thousand, and added:

"I love your way of talking,—no mincing, mouthing or apologizing to the oligarchy. Would to God all our Republicans were of your stamp. My heart begins to fail me that Congress will not

strike a blow of any kind at the slaveholders.”²⁰

The following characteristic letter from Giddings must have been particularly gratifying:

“Jefferson, Ohio
January 27, 1862

“Dear Julian:

I have just risen from reading your speech. I thank you for it. It gives me confidence and hope. As I retire from the stage of action I rejoice to see others who are likely to remain at least for some years standing up like men, speaking out their own thoughts honestly, plainly and kindly.

It is the best I have seen of the present Congress. Indeed, in running it over, I discover but one thought in which I did not concur. That respects the payment of loyal masters for the loss of their slaves. I would make the masters pay the slaves whatever balance may be justly due them if I had the power. But I approve of each man's expressing his own views.

Remember me kindly to all lovers of freedom, and be assured of my high respect,

Very faithfully,

Joshua R. Giddings.”²¹

Once again during this session Julian addressed the House, on May 23, 1862.²² The Confiscation

20. Julian *Letters*.

21. Julian *Letters*. Giddings had been appointed by Lincoln Consul General to the British North American Provinces in the spring of 1861, and was located in Montreal, but was at home on a short visit at this time.

22. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 181. *Globe*, 37th Cong. 2nd Sess. Appendix, p. 184.

Bill was under consideration, a measure that simply declared free the slaves of armed rebels and their abettors, making proof of loyalty by the claimant of a fugitive necessary to his recovery. This bill was voted down three days later by that overwhelmingly Republican House, which like the President was still deferential towards the institution of slavery; but the spirit of Julian's speech was heartily responded to by his constituents as well as by large numbers in the free States who believed in a vigorous prosecution of the war and were tired of "the never-ending gabble about the sacredness of the Constitution", much of which came from such specimens as Breckenridge and Burnett, Kentucky Congressmen who had recently been expelled from the United States Senate and House respectively and who had since joined the Confederacy. Julian insisted that the Constitution was not a shield for the protection of rebels against the government, but a sword for smiting them to the earth and preserving the nation's life, and that it gave ample and express authority for any and every Congressional measure consistent with the law of nations and the usages of war, confiscation being fully recognized thereunder.

"Sir, who are these men in whose behalf the Constitution is so persistently invoked? They are rebels who have defied its power and who by taking their stand outside the Constitution have driven us to meet them on their own ground. By abdicating the Constitution and conspiring against the government, they have assumed the character

of public enemies, and have thus no rights but the rights of war, while in dealing with them we are bound by no laws but the laws of war.”

It was slavery, he held, that had given us false views of the Constitution as well as false ideas as to the character and purposes of the war. The people of the north quite understood that slavery lay at the bottom of all our troubles, and that but for slavery the present horrid revolt would not have occurred. “Sir, the people of these states will not only think about slavery, and talk about it, but they will earnestly seek to use the present opportunity to get rid of it forever. Nothing can possibly sanctify the trials and sufferings through which we are called to pass but the permanent establishment of liberty and peace. If this is not a war of ideas, it is not a war to be defended. As a mere struggle for political power between opposing States, or a mere question of physical strength and courage, it becomes impious in the light of its horrible baptism of fire and blood. It would rank with the senseless and purposeless wars between the despotisms of the Old World, bringing with it nothing of good for freedom or the race . . .

“The people of the United States and the armies of the United States are not the unreasoning machines of arbitrary power, but the intelligent champions of free institutions, voluntarily espousing the side of the Union upon principle. They know, as does the civilized world, that the

rebels are fighting to diffuse and eternize slavery, and that that purpose must be met by a manly and conscientious resistance . . . Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of nothing more monstrously absurd, or more flagrantly recreant, than the idea of conducting this war against a slaveholders' rebellion as if slavery had no existence. The madness of such a policy strikes me as next to infinite. Here are more than a million men called into deadly strife by the struggle of this Black Power to diffuse itself over the continent and strike down the cause of free government everywhere, deluging these otherwise happy States with suffering and death without parallel in the history of the world: and yet, so far has this power perverted the judgment and debauched the conscience of the country that we are seriously exhorted to make still greater sacrifices in order to placate its spirit."²³

In defending the financial management of the administration against the attacks of Representative Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana he declared that the immense burden of debt which the war was heaping up had been chiefly caused by the mistaken policy of tenderness towards the seceding States and immunity for their pet institution, a policy steadily and strenuously urged and supported by Voorhees and his Democratic associates. The policy of delay, which had also sought to spare slavery was never accepted by President

23. Julian's *Speeches*, pp. 185-186.

Lincoln of his own choice, but under the influence of those in and out of the army in whom he reposed confidence. Julian was sure that Lincoln would soon use his military authority to free the slaves, instancing his language in rescinding General Hunter's order as foreshadowing such action among the thick-coming events of the future.²⁴ Conservatives and cowards might recoil from it and seek to oppose it, but to resist it would be to wrestle with destiny,—quoting Carlyle's words,—“It is in vain to vote a false image true. Vote it, and re-vote it, by overwhelming majorities, by jubilant unanimities, the thing is NOT SO; it is OTHERWISE than so, and all Adam's posterity, voting upon it till Doomsday, cannot change it”. He insisted that the history of reform bore unfailing witness to this truth . . . “Where are those Northern statesmen who betrayed

24. General Hunter was in command of the Military Department of the South, and his order of May 9, 1862, declared: “Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these states—Georgia, Florida and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves are therefore declared forever free.” Nicolay and Hay in their *Life of Lincoln* say that Hunter “doubtless felt it a duty to proclaim officially what practically had come to pass.” The numbers of blacks within Hunter's lines had increased during the past two months from 320 to more than 9,000, and as he lacked a sufficient force for offensive movements he decided to organize, arm and train regiments of colored soldiers. Because mail from the Department of the South could go only by sea, it was a week before President Lincoln knew of Hunter's order. Lincoln's proclamation recited that the Government had no knowledge or part in the issuing of Hunter's order of emancipation, that neither Hunter nor any other person had been authorized to declare free the slaves of any State, and that such orders were altogether void. Whether it should be competent for him (Lincoln) as Commander in Chief to declare the slaves of any State or States free, he reserved to himself to decide. *Nicolay and Hay*, Vol. VI, p. 94.

liberty in 1820?—They are already forgotten or remembered in their dishonor. Who now believes that any fresh laurels were won in 1850 by the great men who sought to gag the people of the free States and to lay the slab of silence on those truths which today write themselves down along with the guilt of slavery in the flames of civil war? . . . Has any man in the whole history of American politics, however deeply rooted his reputation or God-like his gifts, been able to hold dalliance with slavery and live? I believe the spirit of liberty is the spirit of God, and if the giants of a past generation were not strong enough to wrestle with it can the pygmies of the present?”²⁵

This speech sounded the key-note for his approaching Congressional canvass, and the more radical policy finally inaugurated by the President and Congress made it a prophecy fulfilled. Among those who most warmly commended its sentiments was Lydia Maria Child, in a long letter of which the opening and closing passages are given, the latter being of particular interest as emphasizing one of the dangers which presented itself to a careful student of public affairs at that time:

“Wayland, Mass., June 16, 1862.

Hon. Mr. Julian,

Dear Sir:

“I thank you from the depths of my soul for your speech on Confiscation and Liberation. It

25. *Globe*, 37th Cong. 2nd Sess. Appendix, p. 186.

has strengthened and cheered me more than any words since the war began. And I have *needed* strengthening, as you can readily imagine . . .

“I have long thought, and though few agree with me I cannot banish the idea, that the rebels, in their last extremity of desperation will resort to emancipation, as the only means of securing the assistance of England and France. Their pride is so indomitable that they will do *anything* rather than submit to the United States, and there is no other way in which they could so effectually humiliate us and secure to their cause the sympathy of the world. John Bull and Monsieur Crepeau would like nothing better than to help in the dismemberment of these States; and if the South is sagacious enough to take *that* step they can do it, not only without offending the moral sense of their own people and of the civilized world, but they would be sure to receive universal plaudits as missionaries of freedom, justice, and humanity, while they were in fact merely serving the purposes of their own selfishness. I have never believed that M. Mercier went to Richmond merely to see about tobacco. Why is he going to France and Lord Lyons to England? Why is Slidell’s secretary hurrying home from Paris? The South has always been too cunning for us, and I cannot think she will lose this chance to make use of the advantage which we have been so afraid to avail ourselves of. If she does, the United States Government will wake up too late to a sense of its folly. The Border States will

no longer place any value on the institution they are now so willing to sacrifice the country to sustain, and Sambo will be amply revenged upon us for rejecting the services he was so willing to render us in our hour of need. It is such a beautiful program of just retribution that it really seems as if Providence *ought* to carry it into operation. But I love my country and should be mortified to see her in such a disgraceful position before the world. Yet it seems to me the chances are ten to one that it will be so.

May God bless you, as my grateful heart blesses you.

Yours with respect and gratitude,

L. Maria Child."²⁶

26. Julian *Letters*.

CHAPTER X

Politics—Second Marriage—Movement to Nominate Chase—Lands of Rebels—Speech on Radicalism and Conservation

In these days of stenographers, typewriters, telephones and other aids in the dispatch of business, the duties of a Republican member of Congress during the Civil War, and especially of a member of the popular branch, appear arduous indeed. Study of the grave problems growing out of the conflict, committee service and attendance at the sessions of the House formed a comparatively small part of his labors. Work before the departments demanded much time and was often troublesome and vexatious. His large correspondence could not be slighted, and there was no secretary to lend assistance. He had to look after the welfare of sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals. The patronage of his district, civil and military, was referred to him under the Civil Service that then prevailed, and the important executive labor thus improperly laid upon his shoulders probably far exceeded that of the governor of a State in times of peace. This was a tremendous burden, greatly impairing his usefulness in the legitimate business of legislation, but there was no escaping it.

The seriousness of the crisis and the sense of a Congressman's responsibility laid a still further

tax upon his nervous energy, while he was obliged every two years to wrestle with foes for his position, and every intervening year to reconnoitre the situation preliminary to the contest. It is easy to see that all this was no child's play and that the men who had already fought the fierce battles of the anti-slavery conflict now stood in need of all their resources. Julian made a complete surrender of himself to the public service, taking no account of health, comfort, or social pleasures, working till a late hour at night and often finding himself so exhausted that rest was impossible. It is not strange that he lost the power of sleep, and that a certain sternness and sadness obscured the natural joy and beauty of life and left their indelible footprints.

His political enemies both in the "Burnt District" and at the State Capital lost no opportunity to vex and embarrass him, and he used to say that the opposition of the Democrats was a "gentle zephyr" in comparison with the warfare steadily waged against him by members of his own party. They sought to take away from him the patronage pertaining to his position as a Congressman by undermining his influence with the Administration. They tried to re-introduce the old-fashioned nominating convention, which could be easily packed (as had been abundantly demonstrated), instead of nominating by popular vote, and they even attempted to form combinations with the Democrats for the sole purpose of compassing his defeat. They brought forward military candi-

dates, hoping thus to appeal to the popular sentiment. But he had devoted friends, many of them Quakers, who were constantly on the alert and whose zeal for his success was only matched by their hatred of human slavery.¹

The fight against Julian was particularly bitter in 1862. The Union party movement, inspired by what was known as the Border State policy which he consistently combated, made considerable headway at that time in some of the northern States. But he was one of the very few strongly anti-slavery Congressmen returned that year, and it is not necessary to state that his radicalism showed no weakening. In his speech of February 18, 1863, the last delivered by him in the Thirty-seventh Congress, he urged the arming of the negroes as a means of giving effect to the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, the organization of a Bureau of Emancipation to take charge of important interests devolving upon the government by reason of the extinction of slavery, the parcelling out of the plantations of rebels in small farms for the freedmen who had earned a right to the soil by generations of unrequited labor, and the seizure of property belonging to traitors to be used in defraying the cost of the war. He expressed deep regret at the obligation he felt to find fault with the Administra-

1. Daniel Huff of Fountain City (formerly Newport) was one of these pillars of strength,—an early Abolitionist, active for years in the Underground Railroad enterprise, a man whose name stood for public and private virtue.

tion's too conciliatory policy towards the South, avowing his respect and even affection for Lincoln at whose hands he had received only kindness. "I stand ready to make any earthly sacrifice to sustain him in this direful conflict with the rebel power North and South. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend,' and it is as his friend, seeking to rescue the land from political perdition, and not as a disguised rebel seeking to undermine his administration that I speak."²

Urging that Democratic policy should no longer rule in government departments, especially in military affairs, he said: "This is a slaveholders' rebellion and therefore no man who believes in slavery is fit for any high command. The war is not a war of sections, but of ideas; and we need and must have military leaders who will conduct it in the light of this truth. To the want of such leaders must be attributed the delays and disasters of the struggle thus far. Sir, we must have commanders who will fight not simply as stipendiaries of the government, but as men whose whole hearts are in the work and who believe religiously in the rights of man . . . The government which at first sought to spare slavery now seeks to destroy it. At last it has a policy, and I hold that no man is fit to lead our armies or to hold any civil position who does not sustain that policy. Our only hope lies in a vigorous prosecution of the war and the overthrow

2. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 205. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 3rd Sess. p. 1067.

of Democratic rule. I care little for mere names. For such generals as Rosecrans, Butler, Bayard, Rousseau, Wallace, Dumont and Corcoran, and such civilians as Stanton, Bancroft, Owen and Dickinson, I have only words of praise. They are heartily for their country and as heartily despise the Democratic leaders who gabble about compromise with rebels."³

En route to Centerville after the adjournment of Congress Julian again visited James and Lucretia Mott in Philadelphia, the family of General Fremont in New York City, where he spoke by invitation at the great Sumter meeting on April 13, 1863, and Gerrit Smith's home in Peterboro.⁴ This journey was soul renewing; but he was glad to rejoin his children and his mother who now presided over his household. He was also gratified to learn that notwithstanding his outspoken criticism of the government's war policy all his recommendations (about one hundred)

3. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 209.

4. A Free Soil Representative in Congress, 1853-1855, from the 22nd New York district. Noted Abolitionist and philanthropist. One of the signers of the bail bond of Jefferson Davis in 1865. On the occasion of the visit above referred to he gave a breakfast in Julian's honor and presented him with a token of his regard in the shape of a card bearing the inscription:

"To the Hon. Geo. W. Julian
The immortal Thomas Clarkson sent locks of
his hair to me. Attached to this paper is
a single hair from one of these locks.

Gerrit Smith

Peterboro, Apr. 15, 1863."

And if one's eyes are good one discerns the fine white hair and is carried back in imagination to a time remote and to a pioneer of the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain.

as to appointments for his district under the Conscription law had been respected by the Administration in spite of Governor Morton, Caleb B. Smith and others who had sought to defeat his wishes.

Julian's eight-day participation in the famous Morgan Raid which occurred in July of this year, (1863), and which constituted his only military service was often playfully alluded to by him and is described in *Political Recollections*.⁵ He considered it valuable in that it gave him a knowledge which he could have gained in no other way. The exhibitions of profanity, obscenity and moral recklessness amazed him, and the drunkenness of both officers and men made him shudder as he reflected on the numbers who must have perished in the war from this cause.

Soon after this experience he made a tour in Ohio with Governor Brough discussing war topics, and in September joined Congressman John A. Bingham of the same state in a canvass of Congressman James M. Ashley's⁶ district, under the supervision of the Ohio Republican State Committee.

Julian's second marriage was probably has-

5. Pp. 232, 233.

6. Representative from the Toledo (Ohio) district. He was a man of ability with a rough-and-tumble manner and addicted to mild profanity as instanced by this story connected with a visit of Julian's to him thirty odd years later; Julian, who had suffered from insomnia during all the intervening years, expressed a dread of out-living his faculties, whereupon Ashley exclaimed, "Don't do it, Julian, don't do it! Take a powder, damn it, take a powder!"

tened by a quite unexpected speaking trip made in company with Ashley to Jefferson at this time. He had first met Laura, the youngest daughter of Giddings, at the Unitarian Church in Washington nearly two years before, but not until this summer had the idea of a union presented itself. The only objection was disparity of age, he being twenty-two years her senior, an obstacle only overcome by considerable urging on his part. The marriage, which occurred on the last day of the year 1863, appealed to almost all their friends as extremely fitting, Charles Sumner writing to Giddings that it seemed to him of the happiest omen. Simplicity marked the wedding, owing to the war and especially because of the sudden death two months before of Julian's second son, Louis Henry, a precocious nine-year-old lad of slender physical resources.

Because of Giddings' heart trouble some member of his family had for years accompanied him on his absences from home, and Laura had been his attendant both in Washington for two seasons prior to the war and more recently in Montreal. That self-forgetful devotion to her father which had called forth the admiration of all who witnessed it was now by what her husband afterwards referred to as "a sort of imputed righteousness", transferred to his account, and the union proved to be one of rare harmony. She had attended Oberlin and Antioch Colleges, was thor-

oughly at home in society, and took a keen interest in public affairs.⁷

The movement to nominate Chase instead of Lincoln for the ensuing term took shape early in January of 1864, and had the backing of many prominent Republicans. The unpopularity of Lincoln among Congressmen at this time is indicated by an incident quoted in Rhodes' *History of the United States* from Arnold's *Life of Lincoln*.⁸ When a Pennsylvania editor, a warm admirer of the President, asked Thaddeus Stevens to introduce him to some member of Congress who desired Lincoln's renomination, Stevens conducted him to the desk of Arnold, a member from Chicago and a personal friend of the President, saying: "Here is a man who wants to find a Lincoln Member of Congress. You are the only one I know and I have come over to introduce my friend to you." Of course there was more or less Stevens humor in this sally, but it illustrates the fact that many of those nearest to the President, who apparently had the best opportunity for close analysis and a just estimate, appraised him less truly than did the great mass of the people. This by no means proves that his critics were wholly in the wrong, nor that those who were constantly urging a more aggressive policy were mistaken in their course. Too little stress has

7. Two children were born of this marriage: Grace Giddings, b. Sept. 11, 1865, m. Charles B. Clarke, Indianapolis attorney, 1887; and Paul, b. July 7, 1867, civil engineer.

8. Vol. IV, p. 462.

been placed upon the great service rendered by those Civil War statesmen who persistently inculcated the ideas which were afterwards adopted by the Administration. L. Maria Child truthfully characterizes this type when she says of Julian: "He conceived that the people in making him their public servant had placed him on the watch-tower, and that it was his duty to perform the part of a faithful sentinel."⁹ If Lincoln's strength lay largely in his ability to interpret public opinion and in moving no more rapidly than the great body of the people was ready to follow, it was all-important that constant and well directed efforts should be put forth to educate public sentiment to the point of apprehending the true situation in order that its demands might meet the needs of the hour.

Julian had for years been a devoted friend of Secretary Chase, who was the acknowledged representative and spokesman of the anti-slavery sentiment in President Lincoln's cabinet. He admired Chase's intellectual acumen, was in accord with his public policy and liked him as a man. He would have been glad of his nomination for the presidency in 1856 and again in 1860. It was therefore not unnatural that he should have been offered a place on the central committee which had charge of the movement to secure for Chase the nomination in 1864, but this he declined and a reference in his *Journal* to the latter's "over-

9. *Introduction*, by L. Maria Child to *Julian's Speeches*, p. 12.

weening ambition" shows that he had become somewhat disillusioned.¹⁰ He still regarded Lincoln as too slow and was not in accord with his Reconstruction policy as set forth in his annual message of December, 1863, but all things considered, his renomination seemed to promise more for the cause of the Union and the slave than the selection of anyone else, and Julian considered the Cleveland convention that nominated Fremont a grave mistake.¹¹

Lincoln's continued faith in McClellan in the face of abundant evidence of his incompetence and the belief of many persons that the General was actually disloyal, was exasperating to members of the War Committee. However, they themselves would have been seriously puzzled to find a capable successor, for the reputations of our great Civil War military leaders were yet to be won. The investigations of this committee into southern atrocities, particularly at Fort Pillow, their visits to battle fields and hospitals, together with the testimony of officers, all strengthened the impression that the war policy of the government could not be defended. It was a time of painful uncertainty, of hazardous experiments, of mis-

10. February 16, 1864.

11. Among the leaders of public opinion who strongly desired another candidate than Lincoln were Charles Sumner, Whitelaw Reid and John Jay. Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 519. Rhodes also quotes Richard Smith, editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, to the effect that Lincoln's candidacy was regarded as a misfortune. "I do not know a Lincoln man, and in all our correspondence, which is large and varied, I have seen few letters from Lincoln men." In the light of subsequent events all this possesses a unique interest.

takes and misjudgments. This was inevitable and but repeats the history of every national and international upheaval.

Next to the abolition of slavery, the policy of the government in dealing with its unoccupied domain was the most engrossing interest of Julian's public life, and his position as chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, to which he had been appointed by Speaker Colfax on the organization of the Thirty-eighth Congress, gave him a decided vantage ground for the presentation of measures bearing on this particular subject. Of course his duties as a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War still demanded much time, but two of the three speeches delivered by him in this Congress dealt directly with land matters. He regarded the Homestead Law, which he had first urged in 1851, and which was finally approved in May, 1862, as one of the steps in the steady march towards freedom. Its recognition of the dignity of labor and the equal rights of the masses naturally arrayed against it the supporters of slavery, who fought it to the last, and its success was one of the recognized signs that their day was drawing to a close.

In January, 1864, he laid before the Committee on Public Lands a proposition to extend the Homestead Law to the forfeited and confiscated lands of the South. After studying the question for months he had come to the conclusion that these lands should be dealt with as public lands

and parcelled out in small homesteads among the poor of the South, both white and black, who had aided in the military service of the north either as soldiers or laborers. This plan met with the approval of Solicitor Whiting of the War Department, whose advice Julian sought, and so with the consent of the Land Committee he reported a bill embodying his ideas on the subject. In his speech of March 18, 1864, in advocacy of this bill,¹² he again linked the questions of land monopoly and slavery by declaring that the present struggle was not only a slaveholders' rebellion, but also a rebellion of land-holders, in as much as three-fourths at least of the lands in the seceding States belonged to the slavemasters, who constituted only about one-fiftieth of the population. The bill he presented therefore contemplated no general seizure and confiscation, no sweeping violation of the rights of the masses, but simply the breaking up and distribution of vast monopolies which had made the few the virtual owners of the multitude, white as well as black. This measure would vest in the United States the lands forfeited by confiscation in punishment of treason, a course for which there was ample justification.

The war which the secessionists were waging was no longer a mere insurrection or riot, but a civil, territorial war between them and the United States. Having taken their stand outside of the

12. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 212. *Con. Globe*, 38th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 1185.

Constitution and rested their cause on the naked ground of lawless might, they had of course no constitutional rights. They were belligerents, enemies, traitors, having simply the rights of war, and he quoted recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in support of this contention. He insisted that the government had the right to confiscate the fee simple of all who had seceded, and referred to the President's refusal at the last session of Congress, on account of constitutional scruples, to sanction the passage of such a measure as a grave mistake.

"The builders of our national ship did not so fashion and rig her that she could sail only in calm weather and over smooth seas, but they qualified her to ride out the fiercest tempest in safety and to defy all pirates. That the nation in this struggle for its life against red-handed traitors and assassins has no power to confiscate their lands is a proposition which gives comfort to every rebel sympathizer in the country . . . The people know better, and on this question their voice must be heeded. They do not believe, but they *know* that the lands of rebels are subject to our power under the laws of war, as well as their personal property, their negroes, or their lives. The government in the course of this struggle has learned many lessons. Others are yet to be mastered. Having learned how to strike at slavery as the wicked cause of the war, and to arm the negroes in the national defense, it must now lay

hold of the lands of rebels. I believe our triumph over them is not so near as we generally suppose. The most terrific fighting of the war is yet to come. They do not dream of surrender, or compromise, on any conceivable terms . . . They must be overcome and crushed by the powers of war, and we must employ with all the might which can be kindled by the crisis every weapon known to the law of nations. Congress must repeal the joint resolution of last year which protects the fee of rebel land owners. The President, as I am well advised, now stands ready to join us in such action.¹³ Should we fail to do this, the courts must so interpret the joint resolution as to make its repeal needless. Should both Congress and the courts stand in the way of the nation's life, then 'the red lightning of the people's wrath' must consume the recreant men who refuse to execute the people's will. Our country, united and free, must be saved at whatever hazard or cost; and nothing, not even the Constitution, must be allowed to hold back the uplifted arm of the government in blasting the power of the rebels forever."¹⁴

He pleaded for a subdivision of the land on be-

13. President Lincoln told Julian on July 2nd, that he had changed his mind on this point and referred to Solicitor Whiting's argument as a factor in bringing about his altered view. Julian's *Recollections*, p. 245.

Julian expressed great disappointment over the failure of President Lincoln to sign the Confiscation Act of July 17, 1862, until it had been amended so as to exempt the fee of southern land owners from its operation. See *Recollections*, p. 219.

14. *Globe*, 38th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 1187.

half of patriotism, since every man who has a home to love and to defend naturally loves his country. Every moment of delay was a golden opportunity lost forever. Under the present policy of the government thousands of acres of forfeited lands were every day being transferred to speculators. Last September the President of the United States had issued instructions to the South Carolina tax commissioners providing for the sale of 40,845 acres, of which 24,316 acres were to be sold to the highest bidder in tracts of 320 acres.

“If any people have a divine right to these tropical lands, they are the slaves who have bought them over and over by their sweat and toil and blood, through centuries of oppression. Degraded and embruted by servitude, mere children in knowledge and self-help, we require them to compete for their homesteads with the sharpened faculties of the white speculator, schooled in avarice by generations of money-getting. Had I the power I would give a free home on the forfeited lands of rebels to every bondman in the insurrectionary districts. Let the government at least give him an equal chance with our own race in the settlement and enjoyment of his native land. . . . He is excluded from the northern States and Territories by their uncongenial climate, by his attachments to his birth-place, and by Anglo-Saxon domination and enterprise. Let the government, which has so long connived at his

oppression, now make sure to him a free homestead on the land of his oppressor. Let us deal justly with the African and thereby lay claim to justice for ourselves.”¹⁵

Julian’s bill passed the House on May 12th by a vote of seventy-five to sixty-four, on strictly party lines.¹⁶ It was while he was making his closing plea for this measure that he was frequently interrupted by Fernando Wood, Representative from New York, and Robert Mallory of Kentucky, the latter of whom afterwards accused Julian of having interpolated forged additions to his remarks in the *Congressional Globe*. After a spirited interchange in which members testified both for Julian and Mallory, the verbatim record of the *Globe* reporter was found, completely vindicating Julian, and Mallory was obliged to retract his charge.¹⁷

Julian was disappointed that the National Republican platform of 1864 did not endorse the confiscation of the lands of rebels in fee and their disposition under the Homestead Law. The subcommittee on resolutions reported favorably such a plank, the endorsement of which by the National Union League he had already secured, but the opposition of Representative McKee Dunn of Indiana was responsible for its rejection by the full committee. Julian always thought that the failure to deal summarily with Confederates in

15. *Ibid.* p. 1188.

16. *Ibid.* 38th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 2253.

17. *Ibid.* 38th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 2364.

the matter of landed estates was one cause of the prolongation of the war, and that its effect in leaving the former slaveholders in possession of vast estates while the slaves and the poor whites who had been friendly to the Union were left destitute, was a powerful factor in delaying the necessary readjustment of living conditions in the south following the war.

The nomination of Andrew Johnson as Lincoln's running mate in 1864 was a distinct mistake in Julian's view, because Johnson did "not reside in the United States", (his home was in Tennessee) and did not believe in the principles embodied in the platform. He had first known Johnson during the session of 1849-1850, when a common interest in the Homestead policy had drawn them together, but more recently he had been impressed with his southern bias, as well as his intemperance, and distrusted him accordingly.

During the Congressional vacation Julian made a thorough canvass of his district. Later, under the auspices of the State Central Committee he entered upon a more extended tour which, however, was cut short in September by a severe attack of ague, a disease then common in the mid-west, of which the present generation knows little and the rigors of which can scarcely be exaggerated. Every other day, or in some cases every day, the victim was seized with a chill, so violent that the teeth chattered and the shaking of the body sometimes became so fierce that the

bed on which he lay actually rattled. This continued from fifteen minutes to an hour, and was followed by high fever, the result of which of course was exceedingly debilitating, especially when continued for weeks or months. On this occasion Julian suffered for nearly three months, and life became so great a burden that he decidedly preferred death rather than existence under conditions so trying. While in this frame of mind a friend brought him a copy of the 'Book of Job' which he pondered as he had never done before, and the effect of which was saving. Hope came to him, and with it returned after a time courage and a more normal bodily state, so that he was able to resume his labors in the last session of the Thirty-eighth Congress.

Julian's habit of reviewing the past with a view to drawing therefrom conclusions which should serve as guides or warnings for the future is well illustrated in his speech of February 7, 1865, on "Radicalism and Conservatism".¹⁸ The war was now drawing to a close, due in great part he declared to the changed policy of the administration in meeting it. Instead of disavowing the intention to coerce the revolting States, as the President had done in his message of July, 1861; instead of insisting that it was not the purpose to "subjugate" the villains who had begun the work of organized rapine and murder, as Congress had done on the day after the Battle of

18. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 229. *Globe*, 38th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 65.

Bull Run; instead of calling them "our misguided fellow-citizens" and "our erring Southern brethren" as had been the custom during the first year of the war; instead of keeping our grand armies inactive and conducting a war "on peace principles" we had latterly been witnessing a genuine offensive. "That this sickly policy of an inoffensive war has naturally prolonged the struggle and greatly augmented its cost no one can doubt. That it belongs, with its entire legacy of frightful results exclusively to the conservative element in our politics which at first ruled the Administration is equally certain. The radical men saw at first as clearly as they see today the character and spirit of this revolt. The massacre at Fort Pillow, the starvation of our soldiers at Richmond, and the whole black catalogue of rebel atrocities, have been only so many verified predictions of the men who had studied the institution of slavery and who regarded the war as the natural fruit and culmination of its Christless career. And hence it was that in the very beginning they were in favor of its vigorous prosecution. They knew the foe with whom we had to wrestle. . . . They knew that in struggling with such a foe we were shut up to one grand and inevitable necessity and duty, and that was entire and absolute *subjugation*." At last this lesson had been learned by the government, which "no longer gets frightened at the word subjugate, . . . but is manfully and successfully endeavoring to place

the yoke of the Constitution upon the unbaptized necks of the scoundrels who have thrown it off. The war is now recognized as a struggle of numbers, of desperate physical violence, to be fought out to the bitter end, without stopping to count its cost in money or blood. Both the people and our armies, under this new dispensation, have been learning how to hate rebels as Christian patriots ought to have done from the beginning. They have been learning how to hate rebel sympathizers also, and to brand them as even meaner than rebels outright . . . Had the government been animated by a like spirit at the beginning of the outbreak, practically accepting the truth that there can be no middle ground between treason and loyalty, rebel sympathizers would have given the country far less trouble than they have done. A little wholesome severity, summarily administered, would have been a sovereign panacea.”¹⁹

But Julian asserted that a vigorous prosecution of the war was not enough. While the struggle was one of violence and numbers, it was likewise and still more emphatically a war of ideas, a conflict between two civilizations, wrestling for the mastery of the country. But the government in the beginning did not believe this; for nearly two years it insisted that slavery had nothing to do with the war. When a proclamation was issued giving freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri,

19. *Ibid.* p. 66.

it was promptly revoked in order to please the State of Kentucky and placate the power that began the war, and swarms of stalwart negroes who came thronging to our lines tendering us the use of their muscles were driven away by our commanders, while thousands of our soldiers were compelled to dig and ditch in the swamps of the Chickahominy till the cold sweat of death gathered on the handles of their spades. But at last, through great suffering and sacrifice, individual and national, our rulers had come to see that "the rebellion is slavery, armed with the powers of war, organized for wholesale schemes of aggression, and animated by the overflowing fullness of its infernal genius." The government had changed its base; it had become dis-enchanted. Congress had taken the lead in ushering in the new dispensation: our armies had been forbidden to return fugitive slaves; slavery had been abolished in the District of Columbia and prohibited in the national Territories; the Federal judiciary had been re-organized so as to make sure this anti-slavery legislation of Congress; the confiscation of slaves was provided for and freedom was offered to all who would come and help us either as soldiers or laborers; the Fugitive Slave Law had been repealed; and the President himself had at last "marched up to the full height of the national emergency and proclaimed 'to all whom it may concern' that slavery must perish."²⁰

20. Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1863.

Julian insisted that the work must go on; systematic legislation must be enacted for the reconstruction of the seceded States; the negro must be enfranchised; the forfeited and confiscated lands of the Confederates must be parceled out in small homesteads among soldiers and seamen of the war. He declared that the oft-repeated plea that the people were not ready for decisive steps was less a fact than a pretext. "The men who loved slavery more than they loved the Union were never ready for radical measures. They are not ready today. On the other hand, the men who were all the while unconditionally for the Union would have sustained the administration far more heartily in the most thorough and sweeping measures than they sustained its policy of delaying those measures to the last hour. The truth is, the people have stood by the government for the sake of the cause, whether its policy pleased them or not. Their faith and patience have been singularly unflinching throughout the entire struggle. They would not distrust the President without the strongest reasons. They were ever ready to credit him with good intentions and to presume in favor of his superior means of knowledge . . . Sir, this feeling of unconquerable respect for our chosen rulers, this Anglo-Saxon regard for constituted authority, has been evinced by the people through all phases of the war. Most assuredly it would not have been found wanting had the government inaugurated a radical policy

instead of a conservative one, during the first year and a half of the struggle. . . .

“I agree that slavery had done much to drug the conscience of the country with its insidious poison. I know that we had so long made our bed with slaveholders that kicking them out was rather an awkward business. As brethren, living under a common government, we had long journeyed together and our habits and traditions naturally took the form of obstacles to a just policy in dealing with them as rebels and public enemies. It was by no means easy at once to recognize them as such. All this is granted, and that in the beginning the country was not prepared for every radical measure now being employed by the government. But it was the duty of the administration to do its part in preparing the country. Clothed with solemn official authority, and intrusted by the nation with the sworn duty of serving it in such a crisis, it had no right to become the foot-ball of events. It had no right at such a time to make itself a negative expression or an unknown quantity in the algebra which was to work out the grand problem. It had no right to take shelter beneath a debauched and sickly public sentiment, and plead it in bar of the great duty imposed upon it by the crisis. It had no right, certainly, to lag behind that sentiment, to magnify its extent and potency, and to become its virtual ally, instead of endeavoring to control it, and to indoctrinate the country with ideas suited

to the emergency. . . . Sir, our traditional respect for slavery and slaveholders was our grand peril. It stood up as an impassable barrier in the way of any successful war for the Union. . . . It made the Old World our enemy and threatened us with foreign war. The mission of the government was not to make this feeling stronger by deferring to it, or to doom the country to a prolonged war and deplorable sacrifices as the best means of teaching the people the truth. No, the country needed a speedy exodus from the bondage of false ideas, and the government should have pointed the way. A frank statement by it of the real issue of the war, without any disposition to cover up the truth; an unmistakable hostility to slavery as the organized curse without which the rebellion would have been impossible; and the timely utterance in its leading State papers of a few bold and spirit-stirring words which might have been 'half battles', appealing to the courage and manhood of the nation, would have gone far to educate the judgment and conscience of the people and to command their enthusiastic espousal of whatever measures would promise most speedily to end the struggle and economize its cost in property and life."²¹

The speech closed with a fine tribute to the anti-slavery pioneers, who believed with their whole hearts in the Declaration of Independence,

21. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong. 2nd Sess. Appendix p. 67.

accepting its teachings as coincident with the Gospel of Christ. "For them there was no 'eclipse of faith'. Just as the nation began to lapse from the grand ideas of our Revolutionary era, they began to 'cry aloud and spare not', and they never ceased or slackened their labors . . . To follow these apostles and martyrs was to forsake all the prizes of life which worldly prudence or ambition could value or covet. It was to take up the heaviest cross yet fashioned by this century as the test of Christian character and heroism. The failure of men thus devoted to a great and holy cause was morally impossible. Through their courage, constancy and faith, they gradually secured the co-operation or sympathy of the better type of men of all parties and creeds. They seriously disturbed or broke in pieces the great political and ecclesiastical organizations of the land; and even before the war their ideas were rapidly taking captive the popular heart. When it came, they saw as by intuition the character of the struggle, as the final phase of slaveholding madness and crime, and insisted upon the early adoption of that radical policy which the government was at last compelled to accept. I believe it safe to say that the moral appeals and persistent criticism of these men, and of the far greater numbers who borrowed or sympathized with their views, saved our cause from the complete control of Conservatism and thus preserved the country itself from destruction. Going at

once to the heart of our conflict, they pointed out the only remedy, and felt compelled to reprobate the failure of the government to adopt it. They judged its policy in war, as they had done in peace, in the light of its fidelity or infidelity to human rights. By this test they tried every man and party, and they need ask for no other rule of judgment for themselves. The administration, and the chief actors in this drama of war, of whatever political school, must be weighed in the same great balance. Not even the founders of the Republic will be spared from the trial. In their compromise with slavery in the beginning, which is now seen to have been the germ of this horrid conflict, they 'swerved from the right'. Posterity must so pronounce; and the record which dims the lustre of their great names will be read in the flames of this war as a warning against all future compacts with evil. Justice to public men is as certain as that truth is omnipotent. It may be delayed for a season; it may be hidden from the vision of men of little faith; but its final triumph is sure. To the world's true heroes and confessors history ever sends its word of cheer:—

'The good can well afford to wait;
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime;
Ye have the future, grand and great,—
The safe appeal of truth to time.' ”.²²

22. *Ibid.* p. 68.

CHAPTER XI

Land Matters—Death of Lincoln—The New President—Speech on Reconstruction— —Attack by Meredith

The rapidly increasing war debt led to various and sometimes preposterous proposals as to the raising of revenue, among others that the Homestead Law be repealed and all public lands be placed on the market. Aside from the impossibility of meeting an obligation so enormous, or even the interest thereon, in this way, Julian recognized that such a step would inevitably play into the hands of monopolists; moreover, under no circumstances would he countenance any interference with the Homestead policy, the benefits of which he now saw an opportunity to extend while also helping to relieve the financial strain. It was however not so much with the hope of immediate action as of opening the way to future legislation that he brought forward his Mineral Land Bill.¹

Up to this time the government had had no policy respecting its mineral lands except the negative one of reserving such lands from sale. This statement does not include the lead mines of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Michigan and Wisconsin, where the principle of sales had finally been

1. Feb. 2, 1865, *Cong. Globe*. 38th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 562.

adopted, but only the gold and silver mines of the far west from which it was estimated a thousand million dollars in precious metals had been taken within the past sixteen years, the only profit accruing to the government being the very small tax on bullion.

The measure which Julian now proposed and which had the approval of the Committee on Public Lands provided for vesting the fee of these lands in individual proprietors by public sale, instead of retaining the title in the government and treating their occupants as tenants at will. It contemplated their survey and subdivision into small tracts of not more than forty acres each, fully protecting all vested rights however, as well as the right of exploration and discovery. His speech of February 9, 1865, in behalf of his bill² contains a clear and concise history of our mining policy from the beginning of the government and is of value too, because it deals in an engaging manner with a subject of importance about which the average person knows little or nothing. The measure failed of enactment, but was again brought forward in the next Congress³ with the emphatic endorsement of Chief Justice Chase and Secretary McCulloch as well as that of many able men from the mining States and Territories.

By this time considerable opposition had been aroused, led by the Senators from California and

2. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 245. *Globe*, 38th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 684.

3. *Globe*, Dec. 13, 1865. 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 49.

Nevada who succeeded in putting through the Senate another and very different measure, which, while giving title to the miners, practically cut off these lands from all jurisdiction on the part of the national government with its recognized and well settled machinery for determining questions of title and boundary and handed them over to "the local custom or rules of miners". These local rules were to govern the miner in the location, extension and boundary of his claim, the manner of its development and the survey also, which was to be executed not with reference to base lines and under the authority of the United States, but in utter disregard of the same. In case of conflict between claimants the local courts were to decide, without any right of appeal to the local Land Office, the General Land office or any Federal court. The Senate bill not only ignored the rectangular system of surveys, but provided that every claimant should have the right to follow his vein or lode "with its angles, dips and variations, to any depth, although it may enter the land adjoining, which land adjoining shall be sold subject to this condition."⁴ The crudely extemporized "rules of the miners" with their instability and uncertainty were thus made the basis of title when they should have been swept away and a system of permanence and peace substituted through the appointed agency of the Land Department.

4. *Acts of Cong.* 39th Cong. 1st Sess. Ch. 262, p. 252, Sec. 2.

This clumsy and next to incomprehensive measure was finally forced through the House of Representatives by sharp practice, including the striking out of another bill with the exception of the enacting clause and the substitution of the Senate bill which was then before the House Public Land Committee. Julian fought this action ably, and time has abundantly justified his position. Although the measure adopted conceded the principle of ownership in fee, which he had been the first to advocate, the failure of its complicated machinery stands confessed in the endless litigation which has followed and in repeated and only partially successful efforts to amend it. The soundness of his views was further confirmed many years afterwards by the report and recommendations of the commission appointed during the administration of President Hayes which declared that the law enacted might properly be designated "An Act to cause the government to join, upon unknown terms, with an unknown second party, to convey to a third party an illusory title to an indefinite thing, and encourage the subsequent robbery thereof."⁵

As the friend of settlers and pre-emptors and the advocate of their rights Julian was destined to meet repeatedly the full force of the hostility of western land grabbers and monopolists and to realize not only their readiness to resort to dishonest methods but also the enormous power by

5. *Political Recollections*, p. 294.

which they were backed. His efforts on behalf of homesteaders during this and the succeeding session, although only partially successful so far as immediate results were concerned, called forth gratifying testimonials from hundreds whom he sought to serve besides arming him with a knowledge that was to prove of great service twenty years later in dealing with New Mexican land questions.

In the evening of April 14th, at the hour when President Lincoln was setting out for Ford's Theatre to witness the performance of "Our American Cousin" the Committee on the Conduct of the War was returning to Washington from a four-days' excursion to Richmond and other points for the purpose of taking further testimony. The intention had been to go as far as Charleston, S. C., but Senators Wade and Chandler refused to proceed beyond Fortress Monroe, and so the return to Washington was earlier than had been intended. Soon after retiring that night Julian was aroused by the clerk of the Land Committee, W. L. Woods, who exclaimed that President Lincoln had been shot, likewise Secretary Seward and son, and that assassins were about to take the city. Dressing hastily and going forth he found the streets packed with stunned and enraged people who paced to and fro throughout the night, one wild rumor succeeding another until 7:30 the next morning when the church bells tolled the death of the President.

At the meeting of Senators and Representatives called to arrange for the funeral Julian was made a member of the Committee of Escort to accompany the remains to Springfield, an honor he declined because he felt that his duty lay in Washington.⁶ He attended the services in the East Room and was deeply impressed by that outpouring of the people which had no precedent in our history; the obsequies of President Taylor which he had witnessed in 1840 bearing no comparison either in point of numbers or heart quality. The apotheosis of Abraham Lincoln had begun, although the extent to which time and further revelations would bring out the lofty and benign qualities of his character while minimizing defects could not then be foreseen.

The new President at once became the center of interest to both conservatives and radicals, who seem to have congratulated themselves by turns that he was on their side. For only a brief period, probably a week at most, was Julian deceived in regard to Johnson's position. His call upon him on April 21st in company with a group of fellow Hoosiers headed by Governor Morton left no possibility of misunderstanding the ideas of either Johnson or Morton on the subject of Reconstruction. This was the outstanding and dominant

6. "This evening attended the meeting of Senators and Representatives to make arrangements as to the funeral of the President. I am on the Committee of Escort to convey the remains to Springfield. I cannot leave my duties here. The excitement increases growing out of the President's murder." *Julian's Journal*, Monday evening, April 17, 1865.

issue of the hour, and Julian's wide dissent from their views was to furnish the key-note for one of the most notable campaigns of his career.

After the adjournment of Congress and the conclusion of his labors as a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War which detained him in Washington several weeks longer, he returned to Centerville, and having rested a brief while went forth to "break ground" on the subject of negro suffrage. He first discussed this before his constituents at Dublin, Wayne County, and devoted the months of August, September, October, and November to a canvass in which he dealt with the question in all its aspects and of course without fear or favor. In the beginning he found the Republicans generally unprepared to follow him, including even a considerable portion of the old anti-slavery wing of the party; but confident that he was right he believed he could revolutionize the current opinion as he had done in other cases. The views of the opposition were voiced by Governor Morton, who on September 29, 1865, delivered his much discussed Richmond speech in which he endorsed the Johnson scheme of reconstruction and declared that it differed from Lincoln's only in being more stringent in regard to amnesty.

In considering the subject of reconstruction, one of the most vexatious with which our government has been called upon to deal, it is well to bear in mind a remark to which approving ref-

erence is made by Julian in his review of McCall's *Life Of Thaddeus Stevens*,⁷ to the effect that the wisdom which passes judgment upon a situation half a century afterwards has an obvious advantage over the wisdom which has to deal with it at the time. He also called attention more than once to the unfairness of the assumption that Lincoln was absolutely wedded to any particular plan and insisted that Lincoln would never have engaged, as his successor did in a pitched battle with Congress.⁸

The only aim here is to set forth briefly Julian's attitude on this great issue about which wise men held diametrically opposing views and in which so many elements were involved that even at this distance and in the light of subsequent history one is frequently puzzled and confused. No one who has followed his career thus far could be in doubt as to his position on certain fundamentals or that his stand would be determined largely by basic principles. In a savage arraignment of Julian in 1865 the Indianapolis *Journal* declared that "having given his whole life to the slavery question he knows comparatively nothing else."⁹ Accepting this as true in the sense that the in-

7. The *Dial*, Chicago, Sept. 1, 1899.

8. "Unfinished Review" of Foulke's *Life of Morton*, Indianapolis *News*, Jan. 30, 1901. See Rhodes on Lincoln's "Anglo-Saxon adaptation of the means at hand." Also his quotation from Lincoln,—“I have not put forth that plan (in Message of Dec. 3, 1863) as a Procrustean bed to which exact conformity is to be indispensable.” *History of U. S.* Vol. V, p. 55.

9. Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Nov. 18, 1865.

iquity of slavery overshadowed every other interest in his view, and bearing in mind at the same time his unshakable belief in the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, it is easy to see that his acceptance of the idea of equal rights both civil and political for the negro was inevitable.

Knowing the spirit of slavery and likewise the character of the slave masters as displayed during the last quarter of a century at least, he was convinced that the latter if left to themselves would not deal justly with the people who had been the innocent cause of the war and all the woes it had entailed on their section. Lincoln's plan of reconstruction provided for full pardon for all those who had participated in the rebellion on condition that they should take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Their property rights with the exception of slaves were to be respected, but in regard to slavery they must abide by all laws and proclamations made by the Federal government during the war. One tenth of all voters at the presidential election of 1860 were recognized as sufficient to establish a new State government, the President guaranteeing to such state a republican form of government so far as the Constitution gave him power to do so, but Congress alone could determine as to the admission to its body of members from those States. His plan also contemplated the military protection of the United States while the state governments were getting under way.

The Democrats at once attacked this plan as unconstitutional, insisting that the States in rebellion were still in the Union and that therefore the President had no power to prescribe conditions for their recognition. The radical Republicans opposed the Lincoln plan on the ground that the President had no authority to proceed with the work of reconstruction without the co-operation of Congress, that inasmuch as the seceded States were conquered territory, the establishment of civil governments therein belonged to the law-making body, not to the executive, and that the Lincoln plan was too lenient. Men like Sumner contended that Congress ought to impose negro suffrage as a condition precedent to the re-admission of these states, while Lincoln believed that the reconstructed governments could be induced by moral suasion to bestow the voting privilege on the "very intelligent" negroes and such as had "fought gallantly in our ranks."¹⁰

The bill proposed by Henry Winter Davis in February, 1864, and passed by both Houses of Congress provided that a majority of the white male citizens of a seceded State might form a new state government, and required that the Constitution adopted should prohibit slavery forever. Lincoln's reason for not signing this measure, as announced to Senator Chandler was that it reached him too late for him to give it the necessary consideration; but his remark a few minutes

10. Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 485.

later to a group of cabinet members has a wealth of meaning in this connection: "I do not see how any of us can deny and contradict what we have always said, that Congress has no constitutional power over slavery in the States." And secretary Fessenden's rejoinder is equally significant: "I have even had my doubts as to the constitutional efficacy of your own decree of emancipation in those cases where it has not been carried into effect by the actual advance of the army."¹¹

That Congress had no power over slavery in the States had uniformly been maintained by political abolitionists like Adams and Giddings, but Julian now contended, as did Sumner, Wade and Stevens, that the seceding States had by their act of seceding abdicated all rights under the Constitution which however had abdicated none of its rights over them. They were no longer States in the sense in which Massachusetts and Indiana were States, but conquered provinces, to be held as such till conditions prescribed by Congress should be complied with. In regard to the Emancipation Proclamation, Julian always insisted that as it was issued under the war power it could only be enforced in territory occupied by our arms. Each commanding general, *pari passu* with the advance of the Union flag, could offer freedom to the slaves, and so could the President. Lincoln's proclamation did not apply to the border States, which were loyal and in which slavery of

11. *Ibid.* p. 486, note.

course was not touched. It applied only to districts within the military occupation of the Confederacy, where it was necessarily void.

Julian asserted that even if the Proclamation could have given freedom to the slaves according to its scope, their permanent enfranchisement would not have been secured, because the *status* of slavery as it existed under the local laws of the States prior to the war would have remained after the establishment of peace. All emancipated slaves found in those states or returning to them would have been subject to slavery as before, for the simple reason that no military occupation could abolish their municipal laws. Nothing short of a constitutional amendment could at once give freedom to the negroes and make their re-enslavement impossible. "All this", said Julian in 1884, "is now attested by very high authorities on International and Constitutional law; and while it takes nothing from the honor so universally accorded to Lincoln as the great Emancipator it shows how wisely he employed a grand popular delusion in the salvation of this country. His proclamation had no present legal effect within territory not under the control of our arms, but as an expression of the spirit of the people and the policy of the Administration it had become both a moral and a military necessity."¹²

But unfortunately Lincoln was not spared to help work out the problem of reconstruction and

12. *Political Recollections*, p. 228.

in his place was a man totally unlike him in mental and spiritual quality. It is doubtless true that Andrew Johnson was not the moral pervert many persons then believed him to be, but as one studies the history of that critical period the thought is consolingly impressed that the government that could weather the storm of his administration is likely to go on successfully through indefinite years.

Governor Morton's Richmond speech, which was undoubtedly designed as a crushing rejoinder to the arguments of Julian in the campaign in which he was then engaged, was devoted largely to negro suffrage which he opposed, insisting that the colored people were not ready for the ballot, but ought to have a probation of fifteen or twenty years in which to become educated, acquire a little property and prepare themselves for the exercise of political power. He feared lest colored State governments should be erected in States where the negroes were in the majority, which would shut out all immigration, and result in a balance of power that might control the national government. He held that the crime of treason was individual and could only be treated individually, that the Southern States had never really been outside the Union, and that if they had been we should be obliged to assume the Confederate debt.¹³

Perhaps no man was ever more successful than Oliver P. Morton in refuting his own arguments.

13. Foulke's *Morton*, Vol. I, pp. 450-451.

He had the art of earnestly and vigorously demolishing a position which a short while before he had as vigorously and earnestly defended, appearing entirely unembarrassed by the performance. So it was not at all surprising that within a few months of the Richmond speech he declared emphatically and unequivocally in favor of negro suffrage. Julian recognized Morton's great service as war governor of Indiana and declared that he was made for revolutionary times. "Success was his purpose and he frequently ignored considerations which a more cautious and conscientious man would have found in the way. . . . Von Holst in his *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* has a chapter on "The Reign of Andrew Jackson." When the history of Indiana shall be written it might fitly contain a chapter on "The Reign of Oliver P. Morton." He made himself the master not merely of the Democratic party of the State and of its rebel element but of his own party as well. His will to a surprising extent had the force of law in matters of both civil and military administration. His vigor in action and great personal magnetism so rallied the people to his support that with the rarest exceptions the prominent leaders of his party succumbed to his ambition and recoiled from the thought of confronting him even when they believed him in the wrong."¹⁴

In Julian's speech of November 17, 1865, on

14. *Political Recollections*, p. 270.

“Dangers and Duties of the Hour”, delivered in the chamber of the House of Representatives in the old State House at Indianapolis, the Legislature being then in session, he dealt with the leading arguments of Morton’s Richmond speech. It seems well to quote liberally from this address because it embodies the message he had been delivering all over his district for three months and because it illustrates the colloquial as well as humorous and sarcastic style which he sometimes employed. He spoke without notes, but the speech was unexpectedly taken down in shorthand by a reporter for the *Cincinnati Gazette* and afterwards reprinted by Julian’s friends in a large pamphlet edition.

In the first place Julian made a vigorous plea for the execution of the leaders of the Confederacy: he wished it were possible “to hang them to the sky that bends over us, so that all the nations of the earth might see the spectacle and learn what it costs to set fire to a free government like this .”¹⁵ It must be borne in mind that the prevailing opinion at that time throughout the north demanded capital punishment for Lee, Davis, and others, the newspapers and even in some cases the pulpit asserting that justice could be satisfied in no other way. It was a mistaken view of course, as was the insistence on the death of the German Kaiser in our own day, but in both cases it was natural and indeed inevitable. After

15. Julian’s *Speeches*, p. 268.

“hanging liberally” Julian would have the government parcel out the large landed estates of the secessionists among our soldiers and seamen and the poor people of the south, black and white, in order to form a basis for genuine democracy. Then, to complete the work of reconstruction, he would place the ballot in the hands of the loyal men of the South.

“And this makes it necessary for me to talk about the negro question a little. I am sorry about this, for I hardly ever allude to it in my speeches unless it gets right in my way, and then I take it up only to remove it so that I can get along. I warn you however not to get excited at what I am going to say until you know what it is; for maybe none of you will disagree with me and it is not worth while to anticipate trouble. . . . During the War of the Revolution, that primitive era of the nation’s life, that golden age of public virtue and private, as we are accustomed to regard it, negroes voted in all the states or colonies of the Union, except South Carolina. In every one of the States except South Carolina free negroes had the right to vote and in most of the States exercised the right. Washington, and Jefferson, and Jay and Hancock and Hamilton every year went up to the polls and deposited their ballots where the negroes did theirs, and I never heard that they were defiled or that the Union was particularly endangered. They stood for the equal rights of all free men at

the ballot box without respect to color. . . . At the end of the War they were compelled to make 'a more perfect Union', and in this work of making a better Union the free negroes had the right to vote in all the States except South Carolina. And afterwards they voted under Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson. In five of the New England States and in New York they have been voting ever since. . . . Some of my North Carolina friends will remember that George E. Badger was elected by negro votes; John Bell of Tennessee also; (and old Cave Johnson, on one occasion, finding that he was about to lose his election, emancipated fifteen or twenty of his own slaves, and they went up to the polls and elected him to Congress.) Now I have thought that as the negroes are all free down there we might extend this Democratic precedent a little further. Even Andrew Jackson, Old Hickory himself, who was a good Democrat in his day, though he would not pass muster now, the old hero who praised the negroes for fighting so well at New Orleans and who ever afterwards enjoyed their gratitude and respect, when a young man called on the negroes to help elect the legislature which afterwards gave him a seat in the Senate of the United States; and I think if old Jackson could do *so naughty* a thing as this it would not disgrace a Copperhead to have a few negroes vote for

him, if they were so crazy as to vote on that side. . . .¹⁶

“Negro suffrage in the South is a chapter in the history of this contest as sure to come as was the arming of the negro, and you who oppose it would do well to stand out of the way, for it will sweep over you as remorselessly as would the tides of the sea.

“But I would give the negro the ballot for another reason. Before the war broke out the South, on the basis of its negro population, had eighteen members of Congress. Now they will have twelve additional members, or thirty in all, based upon a population that is dumb. Subtract from the white population in the South those that have been killed during the war and that have been disfranchised since, and it will not much exceed one-third of the whole population; that is to say, one white rebel will count equal to three loyal men. I always thought it bad enough for one rebel to count equal to one loyal man, but when you establish this trinity in unity at my expense I must kick against it. . . .

“I would give the negro the ballot for another reason, and that is, that every rebel in the South and every Copperhead in the North is opposed to negro suffrage. If there were no other argument than this I would be in favor of negro enfranchisement. When you know a man to be in sympathy with, and doing the work of the devil,

16. *Ibid.* pp. 270-271.

have you any doubts as to whether or not you are on the Lord's side in fighting him? . . .

"But there is an objection to the proposition to which I wish to call your attention. It is said that the negroes are unfit to vote, that they are too ignorant; and I have heard it said that they need a probation of ten or twenty years to prepare them for the ballot; that they must have time to acquire property, knowledge of political rights and duties, and then it will do to give them the ballot. I don't understand that argument. When you commit the negro to the tender mercies of his old tyrant, who proceeds to deny him all the advantages of education, the accumulation of property, and all social and political privileges, how soon will he become prepared for the ballot? (If you want to prepare the negro for suffrage take off his chains and give him equal advantages with white men in the battle of life. Don't charge him with unfitness until you have given him equal opportunities with others.) Gentlemen, who made them unfit? I think it was the rebels. They enslaved them, degraded them, brutalized them, made them what they are; and after their wickedness has brought on this war and they are mastered, and the question of restoring government to the South comes up, then the rebels complain of the unfitness of the negroes to vote.) 'No man', says the legal maxim, 'shall take advantage of his own wrong'. Are you going to be very nice or fastidious in selecting a man to vote down a *rebel*? Must you have a perfect gentleman and

scholar for this work? . . . Sir, I believe in the fitness of the people to govern; and if you were to present me the alternative of disfranchising a half million of our people or giving the ballot to a half million who have it not, I would give the ballot. In the one case, I would open a vein that might bleed the Republic to death; in the other I would multiply the sources of public safety. I believe religiously in democracy; in the fitness of the whole people to take care of the welfare of the whole people; and while I would urge universal education I would urge universal suffrage.

“Gentlemen, another objection I have heard is that they will hold all the offices in the South; that the whites there will leave, and we shall no longer migrate there; that the region will grow blacker and blacker, electing negro judges, negro governors, negro congressmen, etc., till the finale will be a war of races. This, I confess, is a *dark* picture. I cannot however feel alarmed. We radicals, dangerous as we are supposed to be, will guard against these frightful results. What we deprecate is *haste* in reconstruction. We have no thought, for example, of hurrying South Carolina into the Union with her ignorant negroes and stupid and disloyal whites. We want a season of probation, time to re-people the waste places within her borders, time for Yankees and Europeans to take possession of the country and supply us with a loyal and intelligent element. Then there will be no negroes holding office unless a

majority of the people want them, and in that case a war of races will not be very probable. I have already referred to the policy of negro voting in nearly all of the states for some thirty or forty years of our history, and I believe it never led to negro office holding. Even in Massachusetts I remember no case of the sort. . . . Nor has negro voting ever led to social equality or miscegenation, to my knowledge. If my Democratic friends however feel in danger of marrying negro women, I am in favor of a law for their protection. . . .

“And now, gentlemen, in conclusion, I come to the most formidable objection of all, in the opinion of those who urge it, namely, that the question belongs to the States; that Indiana can decide for herself who shall vote; Ohio can, Mississippi can, the eleven revolted States, being all of them *in the Union*, can determine for themselves exclusively who shall vote; and that therefore you and I have no concern in the matter. . . . I agree, gentlemen, that the question belongs to the States subject to the reserved right and duty of the United States to guarantee republican governments to the States. I agree further that the revolted districts are in the Union, in one sense. Their territory is there. I have not heard of its removal by the rebels, or by earthquake or other convulsion of nature. I agree too that the people occupying that territory are in the Union. They are not the citizens of any foreign country. They

are subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and can no more run away from it than a man can run away from his shadow. Through their treason they have lost their rights in the Union, but the Union has lost none of its rights over them. I agree further that no State can constitutionally secede. Our fathers never intended that the government might fall to pieces at the will or whim of any of its parts. All governments are intended to be perpetual. No State therefore can constitutionally secede, any more than any of you can morally tell a lie or commit suicide. If, however, you do lie, and we can prove it, the lie is out, though you did it immorally; and if you cut your throat and the breath goes out of your body, I rather think you will be dead, seceded to another world, though you will not have gone there according to either law or gospel. The truth of the matter was well stated by President Lincoln when he said that the rebel States are outside of their proper constitutional relations to the Union. They are, so to speak, outside of that constitutional orbit in which they once revolved around the Union as their center and sun; and until restored they can no more be States in the Union than a branch can live when severed from the tree. Toward the national government they stand in the relation of territories, and are subject entirely to its jurisdiction.

“As I have already said, these rebel States are outside of their constitutional orbit, and they can

never get back into it without the consent of Congress. And right here is where the matter of suffrage comes under your jurisdiction. Carolina for example, asks admission. She must come as a territory as to her rights. Suppose she asks to be restored with slavery in her Constitution. I would see her in paradise before I would receive her. Suppose she should ask to come in with polygamy. Believing one wife about as many as one Christian can get along with, I would not receive her. Suppose she should come with cannibalism, the right of one Copperhead to eat another,—a thing not very offensive in itself,—I would not vote for a man-eating Constitution, for loyal men might be the victims. Carolina asks to come in, and while I am thinking of the question I remember a clause in the Constitution which says,—“The United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government.” What is a republican form of government, is a political question exclusively for Congress to decide. Well, I look at her constitution and find that it disfranchises two-thirds of her people, and they the only loyal ones in her border, and gives the ballot to one-third, and they rebels, who ought to have been hung or exiled before today. Gentlemen, I would decide without hesitation that her constitution was not republican in form or in fact; and I would slam the door in her face. ‘What would you do with her?’ you ask. I would have Congress put a territorial government over her, and President Johnson appoint a chief-

justice, a governor, a marshal, etc., and in local politics, in electing justices, constables, etc., I would set the people to voting. If I should allow the rebels to vote, I would be sure to check-mate them by the votes of loyal negroes; and thus I would train up the people, black and white, to the use of the ballot. If they should go astray, the supervisory power of Congress would correct all mistakes; and after awhile, when a population had been secured fit for State government I would, if in Congress vote to receive them again into our embrace.”¹⁷

The assembly room was filled with members of the Legislature and others, Republicans and Democrats, men and women, standing room being at a premium, and he was frequently interrupted by applause. The speech was widely copied and commented on throughout the State and beyond, but the *Indianapolis Journal*, the party organ at the Capital, vouchsafed only this notice:

“Hon. George W. Julian addressed a full house last night at the Hall of the House of Representatives. The crowded condition of our columns precludes any attempt at an abstract of his remarks. The burden of his address was the wonderful properties of negro suffrage as a national cure-all. The member from the Burnt District thinks the country will go straight to damnation without the colored ballot. He is welcome to his opinions.”¹⁸

17. *Ibid.* pp. 272-288.

18. *Indianapolis Journal*, Nov. 18, 1865.

The Indianapolis *Herald*, which since November 1st had superseded the *Sentinel* as the organ of the Democratic party, said:

“Mr. Julian’s effort was characteristic. The most radical of the Indiana Republicans, an Abolitionist in principle years ago when Abolitionism was less popular than it is now, he was the same impracticable radical on last night that he has always been.”¹⁹

About this time the *Journal* entered upon the most vindictive and bitter stage of its personal warfare on Julian. Ten days after the Indianapolis speech as he was standing in the ladies’ waiting room of the Richmond railway station on his return to Centerville from a shopping expedition, his arms laden with parcels and wearing a shawl, he was assaulted by Solomon Meredith, a giant of six feet and four inches, who after felling him to the floor and beating him either with his fists, as he declared, or with a piece of metal according to Julian, proceeded to apply a rawhide. Meredith had first accosted him in a friendly tone asking if he had requested the agent of the ‘Associated Press’ to publish the news of his (Meredith’s) having been relieved of his command at Paducah, Ky. Julian replied in the negative, as he did to a similar query as to the editor of the *National Republican*, and supposed he had thus satisfied his questioner. The blows that followed took him completely by surprise and of

19. Indianapolis *Herald*, Nov. 18, 1865.

course at a disadvantage, for before there was any opportunity to defend himself, pinioned as he was by his shawl, he was down, and the affair was over.

Judge Nimrod H. Johnson,²⁰ Roswell Forkner and others made ineffectual efforts to interfere, but were beaten back by the six or eight bullies who had accompanied Meredith to assist if necessary in the task he had undertaken, and who formed a line between him and his victim on one side and the crowd in the station on the other, calling out, "Give it to him!" "Flog the d—d Abolitionist!" "Hands off!" "Let them two fight it out!" etc. Having accomplished their mission, Meredith and his coadjutors withdrew as suddenly as they had come upon the scene and Julian, bleeding profusely, was picked up and after his injuries had been attended to by a physician was taken in a carriage to his home.

Judge Johnson the next morning wrote an account of the affair to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, accompanied by a testimonial disavowing on behalf of the city of Richmond all responsibility for "the cowardly and brutal assault", signed by more than fifty of the most prominent residents, including Timothy Nicholson, Charles F. Coffin, Lewis D. Stubbs, David Nordyke, Howell Grave, N. S. Leeds, William Bradbury and Stephen Strattan.²¹

20. Father of Henry U. Johnson, afterwards Representative in Congress from the Burnt District, and of Robert Underwood Johnson, editor *The Century Magazine* and later U.S. Ambassador to Italy.

21. *Cincinnati Gazette*, Dec. 1, 1865.

Meredith, a close friend of Gov. Morton, who had appointed him Colonel of a regiment raised by him in eastern Indiana and had procured his promotion,²² had been an unsuccessful candidate for the Congressional nomination against Julian the year before, and this fact, coupled with his military disgrace²³ (for which he blamed Julian) so wrought upon him that, as he said in his defense, 'self-respect and justice to his family compelled him to vindicate his own reputation and character by a resort to force.'²⁴

The Indianapolis *Journal* in reporting the assault declared Julian to be the superior of Meredith physically and 'not a man of any personal courage',²⁵ both of which statements were notoriously untrue.²⁶ Julian never carried firearms, but expressly stated that he believed in the right of self defense, adding however his conviction that had conditions made defense possible on that occasion his life would probably have been sacrificed. He was urged by friends to go armed henceforth, and even to seek personal revenge,

22. William Dudley Foulke cites Gov. Morton's appointment of Meredith as Colonel as having been bitterly criticised. *Life of Morton*, Vol. I, p. 152.

23. This had taken place several months before and the two men had met many times in the interim with no intimation on Meredith's part of ill-will. Julian's *Journal*, Dec. 10, 1865.

24. Indianapolis *Journal*, Dec. 2, 1865.

25. *Ibid.* November 29, 1865.

26. Meredith's phenomenal size has been alluded to, and Julian at this time was far from robust health. The latter's speaking tour in Kentucky in 1852 and his braving mob violence in Terre Haute the same year are two instances among a number that might be cited of his physical courage.

but he preferred to leave the case with public opinion, which almost unanimously condemned the assault both through the press and indignation meetings in various parts of the State.²⁷

The case of the State of *Indiana vs. Meredith* for assault and battery, after dragging along for three years was finally *nol prossed*, the reason presumably being political influences that had fought Julian for years and that, reinforced by his failing health were destined to down him.

Julian's speech in the national Congress on Suffrage in the District of Columbia,²⁸ delivered six weeks later (January 16th) was a more scholarly and finished presentation of the subject treated in his Indianapolis address, and was followed two days afterwards by the passage of the bill extending the right of suffrage to the colored people of the District,²⁹ thus illustrating the rapid advance of public opinion on this subject. One passage from this speech is given here as indicating the genuine democracy of this particular founder of the Republican party:

"I know of no half-way ground in dealing with

27. "It is possible that bludgeons and unmeasured abuse may prove effective in squelching George W. Julian. It is possible. There is no telling what hard blows, well laid on, may accomplish. It is probable however, that the result will be very different from that expected. . . . They who bend the bow dream not of its rebound. If Julian is half as bad a man as his personal enemies represent him to be they would better effect their object by letting him severely alone." *Lafayette Journal*, Nov. 29, 1865.

28. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 291. Cong. *Globe*, 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 255.

29. *Acts of Cong.* 39th Cong. 2nd Sess. Ch. VI. p. 375.

fundamental principles. To vote against this measure is to vote against the first truths of democratic liberty. It is to vote for the old spirit of caste and the old law of hate which have so terribly blasted our land. It is to make a record which the roused spirit of liberty and progress and the thick-coming events of the future will certainly disown and turn from with shame. And while such a vote might tend to placate the conservative and the trimmer, it would offend those radical hosts now everywhere springing to their feet and preparing for battle against every form of inequality and injustice, and in favor of "All rights for all". Sir, justice is safe. The right thing is the expedient thing . . . I agree that the passage of this bill would tend to open the way to perfect equality before the law in all the States. I do not deny that the public would so understand it, and I decline none of the consequences of my vote. Mr. Jefferson, speaking of the negroes, declared that 'whatever be their degree of talent, it is no measure of their rights', and he likewise insisted that, 'among those who either pay or fight for their country no line can be drawn'. That is *my* democracy. 'The one idea,' says Humboldt, 'which history exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness, is the idea of humanity, the noble endeavor to throw down all barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views, and by setting aside the distinctions of religion, country and color, to treat the

whole human race as one brotherhood'. Sir, on this broad ground, coincident with Christianity itself, I plant my feet; and no man can fail who will resolutely maintain it."³⁰

30. Julian's *Speeches*, pp. 305-306.

CHAPTER XII.

*Soldiers' Bonus—Land Bill—Eight Hour Bill—
Reconstruction—Loss of Patronage—Re-
districting—Johnson Impeachment
Trial—Land Matters—The
Bonus Again—Woman
Suffrage Amend-
ment*

Julian's labors in the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses were chiefly in connection with land matters, the reconstruction of the Southern States, the question of negro suffrage and the proposed impeachment of President Johnson. A soldiers' bonus was at that time a much discussed theme and petitions poured in to Congress from soldiers of the Civil War praying for an equalization of their bounties and that this equalization be made in grants of land, in conformity with the policy of the government in dealing with the veterans of previous wars. This Julian opposed at every step, because in the first place he was convinced that it would not redound to the benefit of the soldiers, experience having shown that speculators would rush forward and purchase the land warrants for a mere fraction of their real value, and secondly because such a step would tend to overthrow the policy of the Pre-emption and Homestead laws. He therefore introduced a

bill for the equalization of soldiers' bounties in money at the rate of eight and a third dollars per month for the service rendered.¹ His bill was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and reported favorably with some amendments. It afterwards passed the House as General Schenck's Bill, but the Senate failed to agree, a compromise being finally effected by which an unsatisfactory bonus was coupled with an increase of salary for members of Congress, the last being the only way to secure sufficient support for the measure. Julian did not vote for this bill.²

Early in the year 1866, Julian reported a bill from the Committee on Public Lands providing for opening to Homestead settlement all the unsold public lands in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Florida,³ aggregating about forty-seven million acres, lands that would otherwise be liable to purchase in large tracts by speculators whenever the machinery of the Land Department should be restored in those States. It was to avert this mischief and to secure these lands as homesteads for the poor of the South, black and white alike, that his bill was proposed. It passed the House by a vote of 112 to 24,⁴ and became a law after a conference committee had amended it to meet the wishes of the Senate.

1. *Cong. Globe*, Mar. 21, 1866. 39th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 1547.

2. *Ibid.* July 27, 1866. p. 4288.

3. *Ibid.* Feb. 7, 1866. p. 715.

4. *Ibid.* Feb. 8, 1866. p. 748.

On March 12, 1866, he introduced for the first time his bill providing that eight hours should constitute a day's work for all mechanics and laborers employed by or on behalf of the government,⁵ which was referred to the Judiciary Committee. The measure was again proposed by him in the succeeding Congress, March 14, 1867,⁶ and again referred as before, but was passed two weeks later when re-introduced by N. P. Banks, a Representative from Massachusetts. His varied activities, including the presentation of bills providing for increased pay for mechanics and laborers in the Washington Navy Yard,⁷ for additional bounty for soldiers,⁸ and his participation in debate on general topics, show that his mind was not entirely directed along one or two lines of legislation, but that he was alert in regard to all business that came before the House.

It is however a fact that two questions were uppermost with him at this period, namely, Reconstruction and Impeachment. On both of these he had decided views. The plan of treating the lately seceded States as Territories appealed more and more strongly to Julian, and on January 28, 1867, he addressed the House urging that this policy be applied to all except Tennessee,⁹ whose reconstructed government had already been rec-

5. *Ibid.* Mar. 12, 1866. p. 1331.

6. *Ibid.* 40th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 105.

7. *Ibid.* p. 511.

8. *Ibid.* p. 784.

9. *Julian's Speeches*, p. 348. *Globe*, 39th Cong. 2nd Sess. Appendix, p. 77.

ognized and her Representatives and Senators received in Congress. He objected emphatically to the proposal of Thaddeus Stevens which would restore the franchise to any citizen of a rebellious State who should swear that on and after March 4, 1864, he had been opposed to further hostilities and that henceforth he would faithfully support the Constitution of the United States. Even assuming the good faith of those who might take this oath, it seemed to Julian unwise to make haste to share the governing power of the country with those who for years had fought to overthrow the Union. "Is treason against the nation an offense so slight, an affair so trifling, that no real atonement shall be demanded? Sir, the citizen's duty of allegiance and the nation's obligation of protection are reciprocal. The one is the price of the other, and the compact is alike binding upon both parties. When the rebels broke this compact by the crime of national murder, their right of citizenship was forfeited, and the nation has the undoubted right to declare the consequences of that forfeiture by law. It not only has the right, but in my judgment is sacredly bound to exercise it, because in the language of Vattel, 'Every nation is obliged to perform the duty of self-preservation'. No government can be secure which allows its enemies a common and equal voice with its friends in the exercise of its powers. This nation has hitherto recognized this principle. In the very first years of the Republic

Congress sanctioned the perpetual disfranchisement of the leader and principal officers of Shays' Rebellion; and the acts of Congress which warrant the exercise of this power stand in full force and unchallenged on our statute books. . . . The authority of Congress in all such cases rests upon the universal law of nations. It grows out of the contract of allegiance and the duty of every nation to preserve its own life; and therefore no trial and conviction by any judicial tribunal are necessary as a condition of the declared forfeiture. The forfeiture is not declared as a punishment for the violation of any criminal law, but as a safeguard against national danger. It is an expression of the same policy that excludes aliens from the rights of citizens. 'The power is not unconstitutional, for our fathers in framing the Constitution recognized the law of nations, as they were compelled to do in launching the Republic among the independent powers of the world.'¹⁰

He did not urge perpetual disfranchisement, but insisted that the time had not yet come for the reconstruction of the revolted districts as States on any terms whatever. What was wanted was not an easy and quick return of their forfeited rights in the Union, but a territorial status for a term of years. He would have Congress organize a "well-appointed political purgatory" down there and keep the Confederates in it until by penitence and a change of life they should prove

10. *Globe*, 39th Cong. 2nd Sess. Appendix, p. 78.

that they could be trusted. He would put them on probation, perhaps for ten or even twenty years, until they were qualified for restoration or until an outside element had been introduced strong enough to modify the political and moral atmosphere. "Let each of these Territories have a governor, a chief justice, a marshal and an attorney (appointed by the President). Let each of them have a delegate in Congress, fitly denied the right to vote, while permitted to speak. Let each have a legislature for the enactment of local laws, subject to the supervision of Congress. Let Congress declare who shall be qualified to vote in these Territories, adopting the same rule already established in the other Territories of the United States and in the District of Columbia. And when local supremacy shall defy the national authorities in any of these Territories let it be effectually curbed by the military power of the United States. Under this educational process I would have these rebellious districts trained up in the way they should go, whether the time required for such training shall prove long or short; while in the meantime every inch of their soil will be subject to the national authority and freely open to the energy and enterprise of the world. This policy, by nationalizing the South, would render life and property as secure as in Maine. It would tend powerfully to make our whole country homogeneous. It would encourage in those wasted regions small farms, thrifty tillage, free

schools, closely associated communities, social independence, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights. All these blessings must follow if only the nation, having vanquished its enemies, will now resolutely assert its power in the interest of loyal men over regions in which nothing but power is respected.”¹¹

He took occasion in this speech to condemn once more the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, explaining his vote therefor as simply an effort to reduce the political power of the rebels to a common level with that of loyal men and stating that the time had come to extend the suffrage so as to make it commensurate with actual representation instead of restricting representation to actual suffrage.

But Congress had not been ready in 1866 and was not yet prepared to bestow the suffrage on the negro. Nor is it likely that this step would have been forthcoming, at least for some time, had the Southern States been willing to accept the reduction of representation which the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment provided. This they refused to do, and as in the case of the Crittenden Compromise by which President Lincoln and Congress proposed to make slavery perpetual provided the slaveholders would only “be good” and not disrupt the Union, it was the headstrong and desperate action of the South that precipitated the very conditions most displeasing to that section.

11. *Ibid.* p. 79.

Manhood suffrage had recently been provided for in the District of Columbia and Congress had voted for the admission of Colorado and Nebraska on the fundamental condition of their acceptance of the same principle, a sure prophecy of what must follow with respect to other States. "God forbid", said Julian in the speech from which the foregoing passages are quoted, "that we should impose conditions upon virgin States of the Northwest which have never rebelled and whose people today are loyal, which we will not exact of the rebels who have drenched their country in blood! Sir, we cannot trifle with a principle so vital or expose it to any sort of hazard. I voted last year against restoring Tennessee to her place in the Union because I feared she could not be trusted without a mortgage from her securing the ballot to her colored loyalists. I hope my fears may prove groundless, but I shall never regret my vote. . . . I shall never vote to restore one of those rebel districts to power as a State except upon the condition that impartial suffrage without respect to race, color or former condition of slavery shall be the supreme law within her borders."¹²

The Reconstruction measure which called forth the above speech was however superseded by the Military Bill, vetoed by President Johnson and passed over his veto, a measure of which Julian disapproved, but for which he reluctantly voted

12. *Ibid.* p. 80.

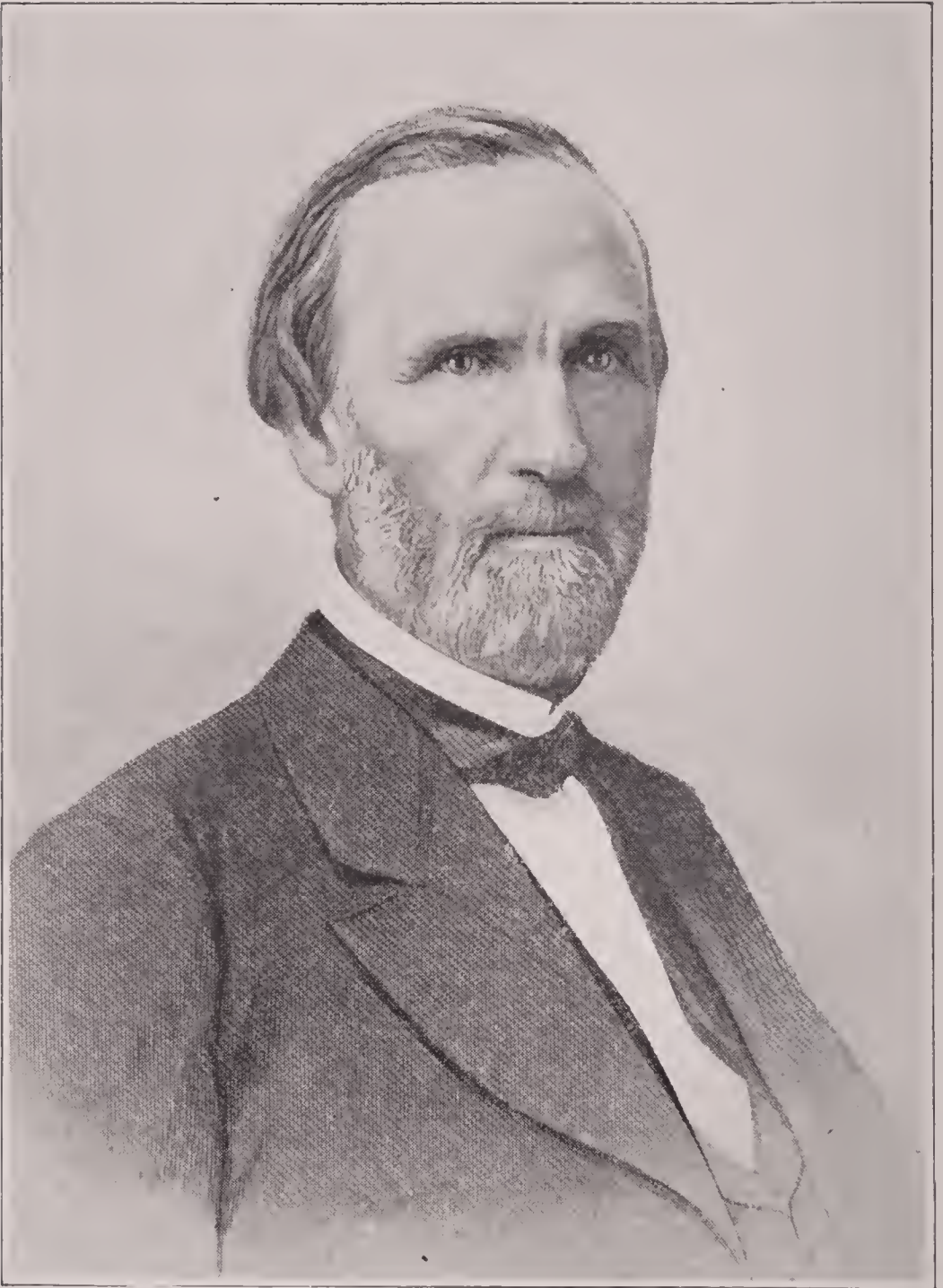
after the adoption of the Shellabarger amendment,¹³ securing the ballot to the negro in the seceded States prior to their re-admission into the Union.

Those Indiana Republicans who disliked Julian were of course pleased that his course in opposition to President Johnson had led to the taking away of much of his patronage. Also they had the further satisfaction of securing the re-districting of the State whereby three reliably Republican counties with marked progressive tendencies were subtracted from the 'Burnt District' and four Democratic counties added.¹⁴ To these new constituents he proceeded to address himself on his return from Washington, his meetings being large and enthusiastic, until illness overtook him. During the two months of physical disability following he reverted to his old habit of reading, enjoying among other things Buckle's *History of Civilization*. Buckle's courage, his fidelity to truth, his manly defense of the brave and gifted men who have been hounded down by the priesthood, his large humanity and genuine faith, his ambition to render service and his untimely death, all made an insistent appeal.

Among biographies perused at this time was that of *Samuel Adams* by Wm. V. Wells which had recently made its appearance in three large volumes. Julian's admiration and veneration for

13. *Globe*, 39th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 817. *Political Recollections*, p. 307.

14. Julian's *Journal*, Feb. 24, 1867.



Julian at fifty years of age, while serving in Congress during the period of Reconstruction.

the founders of the Republic grew with the years and he never lost an opportunity to call the attention of young persons to their exalted character and remarkable achievements. He thought he detected a certain Revolutionary cast of countenance, setting the leaders of that period apart from their fore-runners as well as from those who came after, and towards the close of his life was wont to take down the volumes of the *National Portrait Gallery*, the pages of which he turned with evident satisfaction. It was during the enforced leisure above referred to that, impressed with the thought that he was falling behind on all subjects except the special ones connected with legislation and politics, he recorded his longing for opportunity to indulge in the luxury, once deemed by him a necessity, of connected reading and study.¹⁵

On going to Washington for the short session in July 1867 Julian offered a resolution "that the doctrine avowed by the President of the United States in his message of the 15th inst. to the effect that the abrogation of the governments of the rebel States binds the nation to pay their debts incurred prior to the late rebellion is at war with the principles of international law, a deliberate stab at the national credit, abhorrent to every sentiment of loyalty, and well-pleasing only to the vanquished traitors by whose agency the

15. "A politician's is a dog's life. Why do I wish to continue in the treadmill? Is not the better part of me becoming atrophied, I wonder?" *Journal*, June 5, 1867.

governments of said States were overthrown and destroyed." This was adopted by a vote of 100 to 18.¹⁶

In August and September, in pursuance of party arrangements entered into at Washington, he held meetings throughout his district for the purpose of raising money for the promotion of education in the South. He also made a series of farewell speeches in the counties of Randolph, Delaware and Henry, strongholds of radicalism lost to him by the re-districting, where his public course received emphatic endorsement. Then in company with Governor Hayes of Ohio he delivered eight speeches in that State before going to Washington to take up Congressional duties in November. In the Fortieth Congress he was again placed at the head of the Committee on Public Lands and was made a member of the Committee on Education and Labor, both of which involved congenial service and enabled him to further interests of far-reaching importance.

When the House of Representatives, whose province it is to originate impeachment proceedings, decided by a vote of 126 to 47 to institute such measures against the President, Julian was appointed by the Speaker one of the Committee of seven to prepare the Articles of Impeachment.¹⁷ The task was completed in a very short time, so

16. Cong. *Globe*, 40th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 695.

17. This committee appointed Feb. 24, 1868, consisted of George S. Boutwell of Mass.; John A. Bingham of Ohio; James F. Wilson of Iowa, John A. Logan of Ill.; George W. Julian of Ind.; and Hamilton Ward of New York.

fully had the whole subject been canvassed beforehand, whereupon the case was transferred to the Senate. Probably no event in our history has created more intense feeling or called forth more bitter speeches than this trial, which Julian has described at length in his *Political Recollections*,¹⁸ and the facts in regard to which constitute a unique commentary on the blinding effect of partisan politics. In some manuscript pages which he left to be incorporated in a second edition of the above work, should such a step seem wise, he called the proceeding "the passionate struggle of a great party, accustomed to its own way and conscious of its power, to rid itself of a President on account of his refusal to execute its decrees."

Julian declared that there were in fact two impeachment trials taking place at the same time. In the one, the President was arraigned by the Republican masses for political offenses of which the Senate could take no notice. They were trying him for his wrong-headed Reconstruction policy, for his personal abuse of Congress, for his sympathy with secessionists so strangely in contrast with his former position, and for opposing in many ways and by very offensive methods the party that had elected and honored him. The wrath of the people was not kindled, Julian affirmed, by his violation of the Civil Tenure Act, which apart from its connection with the offenses above enumerated would never have attracted

18. P. 311 et seq.

their attention. But in the totally different trial going on in the Senate, on charges preferred by the House, the political misconduct of the President was not the issue. The popular rage and exasperation were powerfully felt in Congress, it is true, and undoubtedly led to the final effort to impeach him. But he was there on trial for having violated the Civil Tenure Act in the removal of Secretary Stanton. It was shown that he believed that Act to be unconstitutional and that he had sought the submission of the question to the courts for the purpose of testing it and vindicating his action. Moreover, the Act, according to the authority of James Madison and Chief Justice Marshall, was unwarranted by the Constitution, while it also contravened the settled policy and practice of the government for nearly eighty years. The debate in the Senate and House on its passage did not justify the measure nor illustrate the consistency of the men who enacted it, and its virtual repeal within the ensuing year was a confession that it was a blunder and that the impeachment of the President, based on this statute, could not be defended and ought not to have been attempted. The seven Republican Senators who signalized the courage of their convictions by voting to acquit the President,¹⁹ and who were branded as political apostates and be-

19. These were Joseph S. Fowler of Tennessee, William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, James W. Grimes of Iowa, John B. Henderson of Missouri, Edmund G. Ross of Kansas, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and Peter G. Van Winkle of West Virginia.

trayers of their country and some of them hounded to their graves by abuse, have long been vindicated, while the intolerant majority whose reckless scheme came within one vote of its consummation can be counted fortunate only in the failure of their undertaking.

During the closing days of the Thirty-ninth Congress Julian had been able to defeat several mischievous land-grant bills, his influence in all such matters having been manifestly augmented by his previous struggles over mineral and other land measures. Early in 1868 he reported from the Public Land Committee a bill withdrawing the public lands from further sale except as provided for in the Pre-emption and Homestead laws,²⁰ the sole purpose of which laws was the settlement and tillage of the public domain by those in need of homes. The measure which he now proposed reserved to holders of military bounty land warrants and agricultural and other land scrip the right to locate the same. It of course did not apply to mineral lands, which had been dealt with by the Act of July 26, 1866; and there were other necessary qualifications. In his speech on this bill, March 6, 1868,²¹ he treated the subject of our land policy in a manner so engaging that even today one reads with interest his exposition, dealing as it does with the subject of large and small farms, the mischiefs of land speculation in the

20. *Cong. Globe*, 40th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 371.

21. *Ibid.* p. 1712. *Julian's Speeches*, p. 365.

West and South, the unfortunate effects of the government's unguarded system of land grants to railroads, its shameful policy as embodied in its treaties with the Indians, etc. A large edition of this speech was at once subscribed for and the National Republican Committee issued it as a campaign pamphlet for the impending presidential canvass.

A little later he gave more detailed attention to the government's Indian Treaty policy through which millions of acres were falling into the hands of corporations and monopolies. One of these treaties had just been concluded by which eight million acres which should have been opened to settlers under the Pre-emption and Homestead laws were handed over to a single railroad company at twenty cents an acre, the actual value of the land being from five to ten dollars per acre. He was successful in securing the condemnation of this treaty by the House and also in getting through the body a joint resolution providing that in any future treaty between the United States and any Indian tribe by which the title of such tribe to its land should be divested, the same should be conveyed directly to the United States and should thenceforth be subject to the authority of Congress in the same manner as are all other public lands.²² During the same month he reported a bill which likewise passed so amending the Homestead Law as to relieve honorably dis-

22. *Ibid.* p. 3552.

charged soldiers of the late war from the payment of the five-dollar and ten-dollar fees required of other persons.²³

Another service rendered about this time had to do with the soldiers' bonus, which again came before Congress in the shape of a Land Bounty bill reported from the Committee on Military Affairs. In the hope of checkmating this by an appeal to public opinion he wrote letters to the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Republican* and other papers, which called forth sympathetic editorial comment. Julian also addressed the House, with the view not only of defeating the pending measure but of discouraging further attempts at such legislation. It was an embarrassing task, performed at the hazard of being misunderstood by the soldiers and of playing into the hands of his opponents at home who welcomed every opportunity for a fresh attack upon him. But he recognized that like the land bounty bill of two years before this was calculated not only to upset the Homestead policy but to be of no real benefit to the soldiers, and he was therefore relieved when its proponents abandoned it for another measure which merely shortened the time of settlement under the Homestead Law in the case of soldiers. In the course of this speech he said:

"I claim to be as true a friend of the soldier as any man in this Congress or out of it; but I

23. *Cong. Globe*, 40th Cong. 2nd Sess. p. 2828.

am likewise the friend of the millions who toil, whether soldiers or civilians, and can not therefore unite with any man or set of men, for any purpose, in opposing the Homestead Law, either by open assault or the insidious policy of indirection. I am quite as unwilling to aid in its overthrow now, on the pretense of giving bounties to soldiers, as I was five years ago on the specious ground of paying our national debt. Its policy is constantly invaded by stupendous grants to railroad corporations, by corrupt Indian treaties which sweep away the rights of settlers and curse vast districts of country, and by the growing spirit of monopoly shown in multiplied forms and threatening the very principle of democratic equality in the Republic. Sir, the duty to which we are summoned is not that of submission or acquiescence, but of unflinching resistance to these unchristian and anti-republican tendencies of our times. No ephemeral advantages if they were attainable by an opposite course, could atone for the enduring mischiefs to the country which would certainly ensue.”²⁴

24. *Ibid.* Appendix p. 424.

Julian speaks in his *Journal* of the reception by the House of Representatives to the Chinese embassy headed by Anson Burlingame. This took place on June 9, 1868, and was most impressive. Anson Burlingame (with whom Julian had dined at the old Adams home in 1850) after three terms in Congress from Massachusetts, was appointed by President Lincoln, Minister to China in 1861, and in 1867 he was named by the Chinese government Ambassador from China to the United States and to the great powers of Europe. During his stay in this country at the time mentioned Burlingame concluded an important treaty between the United States and China, which was promptly ratified by the Chinese government. The reception of this

On December 8, 1868, Julian proposed an amendment to the Constitution declaring that "the right of suffrage in the United States shall be based upon citizenship, and shall be regulated by Congress; and all citizens of the United States whether native or naturalized shall enjoy this right equally, without any distinction or discrimination whatever founded on race, color or sex."²⁵ This was read a first and second time, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed. The Fifteenth Amendment was then pending, and he presently decided to model his Sixteenth amendment after the former, bringing it forward in revised form early in the next Congress,²⁶ when it was read and referred as before.²⁷

This action was taken on his own initiative and was the first proposition submitted to the national Congress providing for woman suffrage throughout the United States, another illustration of the prophetic quality of his mind and of his public efforts. On the same day (March 15, 1869) he introduced a bill "to discourage polyg-

embassy by both Houses of Congress was modeled after that extended to General LaFayette and more recently to Louis Kossuth. Julian saw in it "not only a fine pageant but a most gratifying and significant fact looking to the 'solidarity of nations' and the triumph of liberal ideas." *Julian's Journal*, June 14, 1868.

25. *Globe*, 40th Cong. 3rd Sess. p. 21.

26. *Globe*, 41st Cong. 1st Sess. p. 72.

27. March 15, 1869. "Since our famous Bill of Rights was given to the world declaring all men equal, there has been no proposition in its magnitude, beneficence, and far-reaching consequences so momentous as this." *The Revolution*, April 27, 1869. *The Revolution* was at that time owned and published by Susan B. Anthony.

amy in Utah by granting the right of suffrage to the women of that Territory; which was read a first and second time and referred to the Committee on Territories.”²⁸

Two years later, on January 20, 1871, the House having under consideration a bill for the better government of the District of Columbia, Julian made the following proposition:

“I move to amend by striking out the word ‘male’ of that section (section 6). I move this amendment in good faith, and I desire to have the yeas and nays on it. I do not wish to delay action on this bill by debate and will therefore only say a word in support of the amendment.

“The establishment of universal male suffrage throughout the United States was preceded by its establishment in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. Following the same order I desire that the District of Columbia shall first enjoy the further and full extension of the democratic principle by giving the ballot to all the people here, irrespective of sex. I know of no reason why this should not be done. I believe the question of woman’s rights necessarily involves the question of human rights. The famous maxim of our fathers that ‘taxation without representation is tyranny’ applies not to one half only, but to the whole people. I am a democrat in full of all demands and I cannot therefore

28. *Globe*, 41st Cong. 1st Sess. p. 77.

accept as a real democracy or even a republic a government 'half slave and half free' ".²⁹

The previous question being called for, Julian insisted upon a yea and nay vote, which resulted in 55 yeas, 117 nays, 65 not voting.³⁰ Supporting Julian's amendment were John Coburn, Godlove S. Orth, John P. C. Shanks and Jasper Packard from his own State; while Michael C. Kerr, William S. Holman, Daniel W. Voorhees and William Williams, also members of the Indiana delegation in the House, voted in the negative. This is believed to have been the very first vote ever taken in the lower House of Congress on the subject of woman's enfranchisement, and the brief paragraph above was, so far as known to the writer, the first suffrage speech delivered in that House.³¹ Both therefore possess an historic significance.

In 1874 Julian canvassed Michigan and Iowa in behalf of this reform which was then before the people of Michigan in the shape of a proposed constitutional amendment. The arguments presented by him in those campaigns are set forth in his volume of *Later Speeches* under the title

29. *Globe*, 41st Cong. 3rd Sess. p. 646.

30. *Ibid.*

31. In *The History of Woman Suffrage*, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, the statement is made, that "the only time the direct question of Woman Suffrage ever had been discussed and voted on in the U.S. Senate was in December, 1866, on the Bill to Regulate Franchise in the District of Columbia. Vol. IV. p. 85. See also *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, (1923) pp. 46-48.

“The Slavery Yet To Be Abolished”, where he moralizes on reforms in general, defines democracy, shows that its agency is the ballot, proves with clever irony that woman is a human being, and finally demolishes the several objections to giving her the right of suffrage. In reply to the charge that women do not desire the ballot he says:

“In the first place, a very respectable minority does desire it, and if the argument I have made is sound, the question of majorities and minorities can have nothing whatever to do with the issue. It is not a problem of mathematics, but a claim of right, and therefore the disclaimer of it by ninety-nine one-hundredths of the sex could not affect the right of the remainder. In the next place, this minority includes many earnest and highly gifted women who have given the subject much thought and whose declared reasons for their position have been answered only by ridicule. On the other hand, the position of the majority is that of indifference rather than hostility, and results largely from inattention and lack of thought.

“The mass of the slaves of the south were so accustomed to their lot that they gave no sign of discontent; but Frederick Douglass and scores of others ran away from their masters and denounced the whole system of oppression as an outrage upon humanity and a crime against God. The world has accepted their testimony and re-

jected the negative evidence of the great majority, whose very contentedness was itself the strongest condemnation of their enslavement. In the third place, this minority is rapidly growing. A great cause never musters a majority in its beginning and does not need it. It has the truth on its side, and that never fails to prove all-sufficient. The cause of woman's enfranchisement is so woven into the logic of progress and the spirit of the age that its failure is impossible. . . . It is coming as the final product and ripe fruit of democratic institutions. It is coming in obedience to the law which has made the progress of society and the elevation of woman go hand in hand in the past. It is coming in response to the spirit of humanity which centuries ago swept away the code which gave woman in marriage without her consent and made her the chattel slave of her husband who could exercise over her the power of life and death; while the same spirit is now refining and humanizing our laws respecting her personal and property rights, enlarging the sphere of her occupations, increasing her wages, and promoting her higher education. Its enemies may throw obstacles in the way, and distress themselves by the childish dread of consequences, but they will be as powerless to defeat it as to stay the tides of the sea."³²

32. Julian *Later Speeches*, pp. 77-78.

CHAPTER XIII

Election of Grant—Broken Health—Railway Land Grants—Retirement

The nomination of Grant by the Republican National Convention of 1868, like that of Taylor twenty years before, was a disappointment to Julian and for some of the same reasons. In the first place, Grant like Taylor was a mere military hero with no experience in civil life that justified his elevation to such a post. Whereas Taylor had never cast a vote, Grant had voted in 1856 at least, and as he was a Democrat his vote was given to James Buchanan, a fact that did not recommend him as a Republican standard-bearer. Moreover, he drank too much, an especially serious drawback in view of the recent example of President Johnson. It was urged however, plausibly enough, that if the Republicans did not nominate him the Democrats would, and as usually happens in such cases availability turned the trick. But he was the nominee of the party, and thus committed to its principles respecting the unsettled questions of Reconstruction, including negro suffrage. Julian early entered the canvass, continuing on the stump until the November election except when the ague held him fast. His speech on "The Seymour Democracy and the Public Lands,"¹ delivered at Shelbyville on August

1. Julian's *Speeches*, p. 399.

8th, was prepared at the request of the Republican National Committee and was widely scattered in pamphlet form as a campaign document. It was a scathing arraignment of the Democratic party on the question discussed, but he afterwards recorded his opinion that the violence of party feeling at the time prevented that fairness and impartiality of judgment which a cooler survey of the question would have prompted.²

Julian was returned to Congress for the fifth consecutive term this year, but so desperate were the tactics employed against him, including ballot-box stuffing, powerful efforts to prevent the issuance of his certificate of election, and an unsuccessful contest waged by his opponent for the seat, that his retirement two years later was almost a foregone conclusion.

His last speech in the Fortieth Congress, delivered on February 5, 1869³ was called forth by the railroad lobby which had assumed startling proportions, and by various schemes that were brought forward to relieve the financial situation, which as always happens after a war was serious. He declared that economy of expenditure and increased production were the two basic necessities and after a brief survey of the country's natural resources and material development he proceeded to point out what appeared to him to be the duty of Congress at this critical juncture. In the first

2. Unpublished *Autobiography*.

3. "How to Resume Specie Payments," *Speeches*, p. 415. *Cong. Globe*, 40th Cong. 3rd Sess. Appendix, p. 137.

place, there ought to be an absolute inhibition on the further sale of arable land for speculative purposes:—such lands should be pledged in reasonable allotments to productive wealth.

“We say to the landless poor man, ‘Go upon any portion of the surveyed public lands, select your homestead, occupy and improve it, and it shall be yours.’ But we say to the speculator, ‘Go also, with the free license of Congress to throw yourself across the path of the struggling pioneer settlers by buying up great bodies of choice lands, forcing them beyond you into the more distant frontier, or compelling them to surround your monopoly by their improved homesteads which shall thus make you rich by their toil and at the nation’s cost.’ Sir, such a policy is as financially stupid as it is flagrantly unjust. It has marred and crippled the Homestead law from the beginning, rendering it a measure of half-way reform at best. On another occasion I have shown that more than thirty millions of acres since the formation of the government have fallen into the grasp of monopolists and been consigned to solitude through the partnership which the government has formed with the speculator to cheat the poor man out of his right to a home and the country out of the productive wealth which these millions might have yielded under the hand of industry.

“Why should Congress any longer tolerate this ruinous policy? The wealth which is to feed our

commerce and enable us to pay our debt must be dug from the soil. No man will dispute this fundamental truth. Then why not dedicate the whole of our remaining rich lands to actual settlement and tillage and while thus increasing our wealth provide homes and independence for the poor? Our Puritan ancestors prior to their emigration to Massachusetts Bay issued a paper in which they declared that 'the whole earth was the Lord's garden and he had given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them'. And they asked, 'Why then should any stand starving for places of habitation, and in the meantime suffer whole countries, profitable for the use of man, to lie waste without any improvement?' Sir, this question so earnestly asked by the Puritans nearly two hundred and fifty years ago still demands an answer, and in the name of the homeless and toiling poor of our land I ask it from the Congress of the United States. The interests of humanity and the development of our resources go hand in hand, and their joint plea cannot much longer be denied."⁴

"Congress should remove another obstruction to progress by providing that all future grants of land in aid of railroads should be made on the condition, expressed in the act making the grants, that the land should be sold to actual settlers only, in quantities not greater than one quarter section and for a price not exceeding a fixed maximum.

4. *Globe*, 40th Cong. 3rd Sess. Appendix, p. 138.

“Congress,” said he, “has granted to the different lines of the Pacific railroads alone the estimated aggregate of a hundred and twenty-four million acres. . . . This immense domain has passed into the hands of corporations, and under the terms on which it was granted they hold it as a complete monopoly. They may sell it to actual settlers in moderate homesteads, or they may sell it to a single individual. They may sell it for a reasonable price, or fix upon it such a price as they please. They may sell it tomorrow, or hold it forty years for a rise in price through the enhanced value to be added to it by adjacent settlements. Regions which the Commissioner of the General Land Office fitly describes as of ‘empire extent’, including vast bodies of the richest lands in the nation, are placed entirely beyond the power of our pioneer settlers. . . . The Northern Pacific railway alone has a grant forty miles wide extending from the head of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean and containing forty-seven million acres, about equal in extent to the five States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, while the total grants to all our various roads and for other works of internal improvement are nearly equal to the entire area of the thirteen original States.”⁵

5. *Ibid.* pp. 138-139. For a discussion of the Land Grants see L. H. Haney, *A Congressional History of Railroads, 1850-1887* (1910) ; F. L. Paxson, “The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier”; *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1907. Shosuke Sato, *History of the Land Question in U.S.* (1886), Johns Hopkins University Studies.

In the third place, he insisted upon a reform of the government's policy respecting Indian reservations, instancing some of the most recent transactions by which millions of acres which should have reverted to the government of the United States had fallen into the hands of vested interests. He again touched upon the subject of our mineral land policy, and reiterated the facts and arguments set forth in his speech of February 9, 1865.⁶

In conclusion he said:—"Beyond the enforcement of a rigid economy, legislation can lead the country out of its financial troubles only by removing the several obstructions to national progress which I have mentioned. We can abolish the curse of land speculation and devote the remainder of our public domain to actual settlement and productive wealth. A bill providing for this is now pending. We can reform our policy of railroad land grants, so that it shall build roads and at the same time populate and improve the country along their lines. We can overhaul our disgraceful Indian treaty system and provide by law that whenever the title to any of their vast reservations shall be extinguished they shall fall under the control of Congress and be dedicated to settlement and tillage. And finally, we can so reconstruct our legislation respecting mineral lands as more fully to develop their vast wealth and thus compel them to help efface the existing

6. See page 269.

difference between our paper currency and gold. These, sir, are the four channels through which the swelling tide of our wealth must pour in and save at once our national finances and our national honor. These are the golden gates through which the Republic must pass if it would crush out the insidious but steadily growing power of aristocracy and landlordism. Through the adoption of these practical reforms specie payments would be resumed just as soon as our quickened industries and improved condition would allow. Unprecedented prosperity and wealth would answer to the roused energies of the people and the moral power of equal rights guarded by equal laws.”⁷

Julian's nervous breakdown of the early war period brought in its train various maladies, so that life was henceforth a struggle with bodily affliction. Among the experiments in doctoring hopefully entered upon, only to be abandoned in despair, was an astounding course of treatments at the hands of Dr. William A. Hammond of New York, formerly United States Surgeon General and widely famous at that time for his success in the cure of nervous ailments. Dr. Hammond first gave him forty-five grains of bromide of potassium three times a day, three pills daily composed chiefly of phosphorus, three drops of hemlock thrice a day, a teaspoonful of a mixture of quinine, strychnine and phosphoric acid, and a teaspoonful of codliver oil, each three times a day.

7. *Globe*, 40th Cong. 3rd Sess. Appendix, p. 140.

This regimen faithfully persisted in failing either to cure or kill, the doctor prescribed and the patient took what in this more enlightened age seem alarming doses of hydrate of chloral, then newly introduced into this country, along with equally heroic portions of bromide.⁸ Dr. Hammond finally confessed himself baffled and advised travel. But before going to New York the Julians had spent three months in a trip to California, having been among the first passengers to the far west over the newly completed Pacific Railway. The undertaking was altogether too exhausting for a man of his slender physical resources, particularly as his interest in land matters led to numerous side trips and conferences with settlers, and it is not surprising that he came back not at all improved in health although much edified by the novel sights and incidents of the journey.

On giving up Dr. Hammond's treatments he resorted to Turkish baths, the water cure, massage, the health lift, the vacuum cure, the movement cure, etc. Improvement was followed by relapse, and relapse by improvement to the end of his days, reminding him as has been the case with multitudes of others that health is an asset impossible justly to gauge until it has taken wings. He became a patient and after a while a cheerful invalid, never abandoning hope, and finally during the last ten years of his life attained

8. Julian's *Journal*, Jan. 3, 1870.

a degree of comparative ease. But in the narration of his activities from this time on it must be borne in mind that he was really a sick man who but for an indomitable will and a certain unquenchable zest for living would have drifted into a state of useless and fretful inertia.

In addition to physical ills his life was made particularly unhappy during the spring of 1869 by squabbles in every part of his district for appointments to offices that were then considered as part of the spoils to be distributed by Congressmen. For in spite of his hostility to the Johnson policy, a considerable number of places was still at his disposal. In Shelby and Franklin counties these contests became particularly unmanageable,⁹ and he was so impressed with the impropriety and wrong of the system that he wrote an earnest letter to Representative Jenckes of Rhode Island cordially commending his proposed measure providing for the reform of the Civil Service, the progress of which he watched with much interest.¹⁰

Pending the district primary of 1870 Julian did not return to Indiana, although urged by friends to do so. He was too ill to make a campaign for

9. "I was obliged to give my days and nights to this wretched business and often received only curses for the sincerest efforts to do what I believed was right. . . . I was tormented for months about the postoffice at the little town of Laurel, where the rival parties pounced upon one another like cannibals." Unpublished *Autobiography*.

10. Carl Russell Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage*, p. 211. *House Reports*, 40th Cong. 2nd Sess. ii. No. 47.

the nomination, Congress was in session, and when not obliged to be in New York for medical treatment he was in his seat. Many tributes were paid him before and after the primary, not only in Indiana but in other States, for it was well understood that he was sore beset by foes. Among the most notable was that of Wendell Phillips in the *Anti-slavery Standard*:

“Like his father-in-law Mr. Giddings, like Sumner and others Mr. Julian looks at politics from the standpoint of principle. He is among the few Congressmen whose careers deserve to be called statesmanlike. He looks ahead, is prompt in launching new movements on right principles, . . . willing to wait till the masses rise to his level, but meanwhile never defers to their mistakes by concealing his convictions. His official life is an honor to a State which must rest its claim to honorable place not on a long catalogue of great names but on the distinguished merit of the few really great men she has lent to the Union. . . . As Sumner has watched over (negro) suffrage in the Senate, so patiently and vigilantly has Julian watched the land policy in the House. The Union needs him. The negro needs him. The welfare, prompt pacification and prosperity of the South need him. Men who understand the present issues best and appreciate our present risks, justly feel safer while this pilot stays at the helm.”¹¹

11. March 12, 1870.

These words of Phillips were echoed by other papers, and the following from an editorial in the *Chicago Republican* is a specimen of many that appeared at this time:

“A persistent attempt is being made in certain quarters to prevent the renomination and reelection of Mr. Julian in the Fourth Congressional district of Indiana which he now represents with such signal ability, faithfulness and vigor. The opposition to returning him to the seat where he has so long battled for the rights of the masses, especially for the rights of the frontier settler on national lands, arises from the very fact of such meritorious service. . . . We speak knowingly, with a full appreciation of the force of our allegation, when we aver that the Pre-emption and Homestead policy never more than now stood in need of advocates upon the floors of Congress or was in more imminent peril. The land lobby in Washington was never so formidable and confident, and the removal of a few obstacles in its way would give the public domain entirely into the hands of monopolists and speculators. Conspicuous among these obstacles is to be found Mr. Julian. This fact fully accounts for the opposition that has been organized against him not only in his district but outside of it. . . . We hope all efforts to displace Mr. Julian will signally fail. Failure to return him to the seat he occupies with so much positive and immediate advantage to the country at large may be char-

acterized without an atom of exaggeration as a national loss.”¹²

Soon after the news of Julian’s defeat at the primary became known, the *Civil Service Journal*, published at Washington, declared editorially:

“There is not a homestead settler anywhere upon our public domain, from the boundaries of Oregon to New Mexico, who does not feel that the defeat of Mr. Julian is a great misfortune to the country, for if Mr. Julian was not the father of the Homestead policy he was at least one of its early, earnest and persistent advocates, and he has maintained it with a courage and fidelity which none can realize so well as those who have resided at the national capital for the past ten years and have personally seen the persistent attempts to alienate the public domain and to consecrate it to the uses of capital instead of labor. . . . Mr. Julian is no ordinary man, possessing as he does that iron individuality of soul that dares to differ from friends as well as foes.”¹³

Although not opposing Julian publicly, Horace Greeley did not desire his return to Congress, and wrote him to this effect, a characteristically frank letter dated New York, March 7, 1870, giving the following reasons:

“1. Nearly every old-fashioned long-time Abolitionist whom I know has long since evinced a

12. Julian *Scrap-book*. Date lacking.

13. *Scrap-book*. Date lacking.

kindly, generous, magnanimous disposition toward the beaten, broken-down Rebels. I have seen no evidence of that spirit on your part. I do not so much object to this because it is illiberal as because I deem it profoundly unwise.

"2. You are hostile to the protection of Home Industry. Of course you are honestly so, and have the same right to your opinion as I have to mine. I am not your opponent on that account; but I have a joyful hope that after the next election in your State there will be at least *one* Protectionist in your delegation. Of course I understand he will have to be a new member."¹⁴

This made not the slightest difference in the friendship and the pleasant relations between him and Greeley, as letters testify, and the latter had no more valiant supporter during his trying campaign for the Presidency two years later than the Hoosier whom he regarded as too unrelenting towards the "beaten, broken-down Rebels."

Julian accepted the verdict of the primary election¹⁵ in a philosophic spirit, writing a manly

14. Julian *Letters*.

15. An interesting description of the primary elections held in Julian's Congressional District years before Indiana or any other state had enacted laws regulating primaries as we know them today, is mentioned in the correspondence of Henry U. Johnson of Richmond, who was a member of Congress from 1891 to 1899. He says: "While he (Julian) was in Congress the Republican candidates were nominated throughout the entire Congressional District by the votes of Republicans cast at the polls. Polls were opened and judges and clerks were appointed and tickets were printed with the names of the candidates for the nomination for the various offices thereon. The voters scratched the candidates they did not favor and deposited the ballots in the ballot box. The judges and clerks counted and tabulated the votes at

letter which was read at the district convention the following week in which he expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the result. He declared that he had consented to seek the nomination only after considerable hesitation, owing to his poor health, and because he believed his connection with some important public questions would enable him to render real and needed service to the country within the next few years. He pointed out that the canvass had been a remarkable one. "I have been fought with as much bitterness and rancor as if I had betrayed the country to its enemies or made myself infamous by the foulest of crimes. And all this has been done just as the great and enduring principles have triumphed for which I have battled through good report and through evil report for a quarter of a century. I mention this as a remarkably suggestive fact, and not in the way of complaint; for having voluntarily accepted political life I could not hope to escape its disagreeable incidents.

"But I do not wish to dwell upon these topics.

night when the polls were closed, and the result was by them communicated to the county central committee. Subsequently, I think, a Congressional convention met at some place in the Congressional District and the delegates thereto from the various counties cast their votes for the candidates who had carried their respective counties. Perhaps the convention was at times dispensed with. I don't remember as to this. All the machinery was voluntary, there being in those days no law for the holding of primary elections as there has been of late years. None but Republicans had anything to do with the primaries; none but Republicans were eligible to vote. No county conventions were held to nominate county officers after the holding of the primaries. The vote as announced by the judges and clerks of the elections was accepted as final for such affairs."

It will be well for all parties and for the success of our cause to pass them by. If it be possible let us now have harmony. . . . To the many friends who have stood by me in this canvass with such singular constancy, faithfulness and self-sacrificing zeal I take occasion to return my most sincere and heart-felt thanks; and I desire through you [the chairman of the convention, to whom the letter was addressed] to withdraw from any further connection with the Congressional contest, and thus relieve the convention of Tuesday next from any further trouble or responsibility on my account."¹⁶

Perhaps no Congressional district in the United States was ever the scene of so much labor by an individual as was the 'Burnt District' during the decade from 1860 to 1870. During this period and throughout his career Julian had to encounter the opposition of the politicians, the men who are accustomed to issue orders and to see them obeyed. And although he was all the while making fresh converts and was sustained by troops of loyal friends, he was 'obliged to stand alone as the champion of his cause in debate'.¹⁷ He had very early given his allegiance to principles far in advance of the prevailing trend of opinion, and so successful had been his missionary efforts that his district had come to be looked upon as a stronghold of progressive thought on all public questions. He had entered public life as the foe of

16. April 6, 1870—Julian Letters.

17. *Political Recollections*, p. 321.

African slavery, and slavery had perished. But he had not fought it as if it were the only evil to be overcome. Devotion to humanity was the basis of the anti-slavery enterprise, and he regarded the emancipation of the negro from his chains as simply the prelude to a more comprehensive movement looking to the redemption of all races from all forms of bondage. He believed in the rights of man, whether trampled upon by slave drivers, unenlightened sex prejudice, land monopoly, the "legalized robbery of a protective tariff, or the power of concentrated capital in alliance with labor-saving machinery." As his reflections at the close of his first Congressional term in 1851 were made up of mingled satisfaction and regret, so now he looked back over his long service with mixed emotions. That his thoughts were on the whole serene and comforting was inevitable, for he had put into his work conscience and the best of which he was capable.

After a summer and autumn spent chiefly in doctoring in New York, during which he did a vast amount of reading (for mental relaxation had become an impossibility) he plunged into the duties of his last Congressional session, giving attention almost exclusively to land matters. His speech on "The Overshadowing Question" on January 21, 1871, dealt with the government's land policy more exhaustively than heretofore.¹⁸

18. *Speeches*, p. 432. *Cong. Globe*, 41st Cong. 3rd Sess. p. 648.

A large edition was at once printed and a second edition of a hundred thousand copies was issued by the New York Land Reform League. After persistent efforts he secured a vote on his bill to prevent the further sale of public lands except to actual settlers, and although the result was 109 yeas to 69 nays, less than the required two-thirds, he nevertheless regarded it as a triumph, because it showed so tremendous a change in the temper of the House on this subject since his first agitation of the question twenty years before. He also noted with satisfaction the failure of the pile of land-grant bills on the Speaker's table, the Southern Pacific bill being the only one that became a law, and by methods so questionable as clearly to indicate the end of the shameful policy.

His views on this particular bill were convincingly set forth in his last speech in Congress, delivered February 21, 1871, on "The Railway Power",¹⁹ which constitutes a fitting finale to his service in that body and contains more than one warning that if heeded, might have averted evils which have since borne bitter fruit. His first Congressional speech in 1850 had been a bold arraignment of the slave power, and now after the lapse of twenty-one years he as vigorously attacked a new enemy of democratic government that threatened consequences quite as deadly and even more difficult of control.

After pointing out the extravagant character

19. *Speeches*, p. 456. *Globe*, 41st Cong. 3rd Sess. Appendix p. 193.

of the bill and the high-handed methods already practiced in its behalf, such as moving the previous question and thus cutting off debate, and refusing him as chairman of the Committee on Public Lands the privilege of stating an objection or even of asking a question, he said:

“Mr. Speaker, I beg not to be misunderstood. As I have already said, this Southern Pacific road should be built. From the first I have looked upon the enterprise with favor and have earnestly hoped that a bill providing for it might be so well considered and so carefully framed as to command the support of those who regard the settlement and improvement of the public lands as not less important than commercial facilities. Nor do I cherish any hostility to railroads generally. Both by speech and by vote I have borne testimony to the contrary during my service in this body. It has been well said that in this country railways create the towns which they connect, and carry civilization and all the appliances of civilized life with them. Undoubtedly they help develop the country; but the development theory may be carried too far and too fast. It is one thing to establish great lines of inter-communication, foster great commercial enterprises, amass great wealth in the hands of the few, and show the world the spectacle of a magnificent government founded on the aristocracy of wealth. It is quite another thing, while looking to the healthy development of our commerce and the activity of

capital, to so shape the administration of affairs as to preserve in their full vigor the principles of democratic government and the republican virtue of the people. . . .

“The question presented by the railway power of the United States is the question of commercial feudalism. It is the question of democracy on the one hand and aristocracy on the other, meeting in deadly conflict for the mastery. It is the question whether we shall have a government resting upon the policy of small farms, compact communities, free schools and equality of rights, or a government owned and dominated by great corporations which never die, which band themselves together as a unit against the rights of the people, and will accept nothing short of imperial power over Congress, State Legislatures and the courts. The railway as one of the great forces of American politics is new; but in this age of marvellous activities and commercial greed it already represents a larger moneyed interest than that through which 300,000 slaveholders so long and so absolutely governed the country.

“Sir, I ask gentlemen to take these startling facts home to themselves and to lay them to heart in season. I ask them to consider whether our hot-bed policy of building up towns and great cities, of amassing vast private fortunes and fostering luxurious and extravagant living, is not eating out the virtue of the people and sapping the very life of our institutions? Democracy can only grow and thrive in the sun and air of equal

laws and equal opportunities. It gathers its vitality from the conditions which surround it. It must breathe the atmosphere of the whole people and renew its life in the fertilizing dews of their common humanity. It needs to be cherished and strengthened by ceaseless discipline and care, like the life of the body, and must wither and die under the shadow of aristocracy and privilege in whatever form.

“In theory ours is a government of the people; but in practice it is rapidly degenerating into an oligarchy of grasping capitalists wielding their power through constantly multiplying corporations. Since the formation of the government we have sold in all only 160 million acres of the public domain, a large proportion of which was bought by non-resident owners for speculative purposes and is today held back from settlement; but we have allowed 200 million acres to fall into the grasp of corporations whose feudalization of land and labor I have indicated, while bills are on the Speaker’s table calling for the additional quantity of at least 100 million acres. Can any thinking man face these facts and feel that the Republic is safe?

“Can a government be free whose citizens are made landless by its systematic policy? Can a republic still in the days of its youth be honestly lauded in which the relative number of its land owners is constantly decreasing while the obstacles to the acquisition of homes are constantly multiplied? Let it be remembered also that while

these millions of acres are being surrendered to corporate wealth and still other millions are passing into the hands of monopolists under the name of military bounties, college scrip, swamp land grants and Indian treaties, Congress persistently refuses to legislate for the workingman and the pioneer. A bill to prevent the further sale of the whole of our public domain which is fit for tillage except to actual settlers under the Pre-emption and Homestead laws would prove a more beneficent and far-reaching measure than even the Homestead law itself. It would simply carry out the avowed policy of the administration and make it impregnable. It would, I am sure, be welcomed by ninety-nine one-hundredths of the people of the United States and condemned only by those who believe in the gospel of plunder and spoliation. I challenge any man of any party to give me a single reason why Congress should not pass such an act at once. I challenge any man to account for the repeated votes in this body against this proposition without reference to the special interests to which I have referred, and whose will has uniformly taken the shape of law. For years I have striven for it in this House and with increasing earnestness as I have seen the public domain melting under the shamelessly prodigal policy of the government. The measure was voted down at the last session on the yeas and nays by a large majority, as it had been before, and I fear I shall not be able to try the question

again at this session. We carried it as a measure applicable to a few States and Territories in July last, at the instance of their representatives, but our bill sleeps in the Senate Committee on Public Lands, and will know no waking, because it would inaugurate a policy threatening the profits which organized capital hopes to realize through still further raids on the public lands. Let the people note the fact, and let their watchword henceforth be the emancipation of the public domain and the emancipation of themselves from this cruel and unnatural bondage.”²⁰

On returning to New York for further medical treatment after the adjournment of Congress Julian saw a good deal of Horace Greeley, and he particularly enjoyed Greeley’s denunciations of President Grant and the San Domingo swindle. It was during the session just closed that the project of annexing this island took shape, Sumner being displaced from the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs for opposing the same and Cameron being installed in his place. Julian’s retirement to private life was thus coincident with the first definite lapse of the Republican party from the proud position which its early espousal of anti-slavery principles and its successful prosecution of the war for the Union had gained for it.

During the summer (1871) he read the proof of his forthcoming volume of *Speeches*²¹ for which

20. *Globe*, 41st Cong. 3rd Sess. Appendix, pp. 193-194.

21. *Speeches on Political Questions*, Hurd & Houghton, 1871.

Lydia Maria Child wrote the Introduction. When he had asked of her this favor Mrs. Child replied:

"I think there is no other man for whom I would perform the service; but I feel a debt of gratitude to you first as a citizen of the United States because you have done so much to guard the honor and permanence of this Republic; and secondly because you have so promptly and heartily advocated the civil rights of that excluded half of the people to which I belong. Therefore I will do the best I can to comply with your request; if it meets your wants you may use it; otherwise you may feel free to set it aside."²²

And the following month she wrote: "I send you an Introduction to your volume which I hope will prove satisfactory. It has at least the merit of being sincere. I wrote it *con amore* from a heart full of gratitude for the public service you have rendered. If I have made any mistakes in dates, or misunderstood your position at any time, you can alter it by the erasure or addition of *words*; but where my name is appended to an article I do not like to have any other than very slight and absolutely necessary alterations.

"I beg you will not speak of any compensation. I am sufficiently paid by what you are doing for the cause of woman. Besides, I consider that I am not conferring a favor on *you*, but am rendering some service to the cause of freedom in my small way."²³

22. Julian *Letters*, June 20, 1871.

23. *Ibid.* July 12, 1871.

Rarely has a volume been more graciously introduced, and the man whose personality and work could call forth so fine a tribute from such a woman might well feel a peculiar satisfaction.²⁴

In July of this year, Julian was invited by the Republican State Central Committee of California to canvass that State on his own terms, but he was not physically equal to the effort, and besides, he knew the Republican politicians out there too well to be willing to undertake their defense. Moreover, the administration of Grant was daily becoming more odious, and he began to look forward, as valiant and trusting souls have done before and since, to a reconstruction of parties as a political necessity, spending considerable time in cogitations along this line. He was devouring books, history, philosophy, biography, among other things the *Journal* of John Woolman, edited by Whittier, just issued from the press, which so appealed to him that he wrote Whittier thanking him for the service thus rendered. The poet's reply, in which he suggested the propriety of Julian's giving his impressions of the volume through the press, led to a notice which first appeared in the *Radical*, was copied in other papers, and proved to be the forerunner of many book reviews in after years.

An editorial prepared about this time for the *Radical* entitled "Wanted, Another New Departure",²⁵ attracted a good deal of attention and

24. Mrs. Child's *Introduction* appears in Julian's volume, *Speeches on Political Questions*, pp. 5-17.

25. The *Radical*, Nov. 30, 1871.

deserves mention because it was in a sense prophetic of his later political course. Vallandigham of Ohio, a former Democratic Congressman and the candidate of his party for governor in 1863, who was tried, convicted and imprisoned for disloyal utterances during the war, had recently proposed a new Democratic departure, involving the acquiescence of his party in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. This was followed by a similar proposition from the *Missouri Republican*. Julian now proposed a new Republican departure and set forth the particular questions as to which this had become necessary. One of these was the tariff policy, which was steadily fostering inequalities and imposing heavy burdens on the mass of the people for the benefit of the few. He insisted that his party needed a new departure on the question of Civil Service reform, which it should initiate by a declaration of the one-term principle for the presidency, making it a plank in the next national platform. The party was morally bound to rebuke the scandalous performances of General Grant in using the vast power and patronage of his high office to secure his re-election. Of course, Julian demanded a new Republican departure as to the nation's land policy, or rather, the carrying to a legitimate conclusion of the party's promise when it wrote upon its banners 'Land for the Landless'. Under the steadily growing pressure of public opinion it had passed the Homestead Law of 1862, for which

he gave it credit with necessary qualifications. The Homestead Act, he again insisted, was but a half-way measure, for while it offered a home to the pioneer it did not prevent the monopolist from buying up large tracts and thus counteracting to a great extent its beneficent intent.

The remedy for this was simple, but the party had again and again voted down such proposed legislation. He urged a new departure respecting the labor question. Chattel slavery had been abolished, not however as a voluntary act under a sense of duty to the slave, but only on compulsion. The domination of capital over labor still remained to be dealt with, and the party had yet to prove its genuine desire and its capacity for leadership in this great crusade. Consistency demanded that it declare itself in favor of the enfranchisement of women. Although 'taxation without representation is tyranny' is a fundamental political axiom, one-half the citizens of the country were taxed and governed with no voice in the governing power. An aristocracy founded on sex was quite as pernicious as an aristocracy founded on color or race.

He did not propose the abandonment or disruption of the Republican party, nor did he then desire it. As an organization already in the field, with an honorable record, he hoped it might continue in control of the government, but only on condition of a decided reconstruction of its ideals and policy.

CHAPTER XIV

Julian in the Campaign of 1872—Rockville Speech —Removal to Irvington—Campaign of 1876—"The Louisiana Re- turning Board"

Early in the year 1872¹ Julian was urged by Republican friends in Indiana to seek a nomination for Congressman-at-large. On going to Washington in February to look after the interests of some western settlers, old friends there added their persuasions in the same direction. He says in *Political Recollections*¹ that he 'really wanted the compliment of the nomination' which would undoubtedly have come to him if he had consented to allow the use of his name. But he knew that this would imply his willingness to support Grant for a second term, and this he could not do. There is no denying that he had become wedded to Congressional life and that he missed the accustomed excitement incident thereto. Moreover, he probably still entertained what he called 'the besetting notion of his public usefulness',² and his health seemed to be improving at this time. But after looking at the situation from all sides and becoming convinced that the nomination of Grant was inevitable, he sent a telegram

1. p. 334.

2. Julian's *Journal*, May 5, 1869.

from Washington the night before the Republican State convention stating that under no circumstances could he be considered as a candidate. While at the National Capital he had several conferences with Senators Sumner, Trumbull and Schurz in regard to the general political situation and the particular crisis which loomed with growing significance on the horizon.

The Liberal Republican movement of 1872, like the Liberty and Free Soil demonstrations which preceded it and the revolt of the Gold Standard Democrats in 1896, was an expression of the keenest dissatisfaction with existing conditions and of willingness to throw off party trammels and to form alliances hitherto undreamed of for the sake of principle. Nothing in the history of parties is more reassuring than such examples of devotion and courage which establish a kinship with the great moral and spiritual rebels of all time and thus tend to keep alive faith in democratic government. For if the corruption that openly flourished under Grant had gone unrebuked or had failed to arouse a powerful and organized public opposition it must have augured ill for the future of our country and its system of government. Whether the enterprise should succeed or fail in its immediate object was of far less moment than that it should be undertaken.

The thought of another break with his party was painful to Julian. There was a great deal of sentiment in his nature, and he loved the ap-

probation of friends. The memory of his experience twenty-four years earlier when he severed his relations with the Whigs was still fresh; but he had been a young man then and could have felt no such attachment to that party as he now entertained for the Republican party which he had helped to organize and with which his political career had been closely identified ever since. The battles he had fought in this great organization were for the eternal principles of justice and human liberty, and the memory of that record would remain. While he had not always been in sympathy with all the policies of the party, he recognized that it had steadily faced in the right direction. But for the aims and methods of the men now in control of national affairs he could have no sympathy nor any toleration.

Accordingly, having fully committed himself to the new movement in a letter to the Liberal Republican meeting in Richmond on April 10, 1872, which he was not able to attend, he went to the convention in Cincinnati on May 1st with mingled trepidation and hope. He strongly desired the nomination of Charles Francis Adams, and exerted every possible effort to that end, and he always believed that had Adams headed the ticket success would have been assured.³

3. "The nomination of Adams was *almost* accomplished, and was only prevented by the blunder of the Trumbull men in holding on to the latter too long, and by the tactics of Governor Brown (B. Gratz) and Frank Blair. I was woefully disappointed by the defeat of Adams." Julian's *Journal*, May 7, 1872. See also *Political Recollections*, pp. 339-340.

Julian presided over the convention during portions of two days. He was surprised when, his own State delegation having given him a solid complimentary vote for Vice-President, several other States fell in, running his vote up to 182 on the second ballot, although he was not a candidate and no effort was put forth in his behalf. It was simply a spontaneous expression of appreciation and regard, and correspondingly gratifying. The spirit and tone of the convention were admirable, the only really discordant note being the failure to rise to the occasion when Miss Anthony and Mrs. Gordon presented their suffrage plea.⁴ The platform pledged the new party to the Union, opposition to the re-opening of any question settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution, immediate removal of all political disabilities, local self-government with impartial suffrage, civil service reform, and modest government revenue.

An instance of the sudden and unexpected way in which moves on the political chess-board are sometimes made is the fact that at the Democratic State convention the following month in Indianapolis, Julian was offered the nomination for Congressman-at-Large, which however he promptly declined. He had gone over to attend a meeting of the Liberal Republican State Central

4. "It was all wrong,—the temper of the gathering towards women. . . . It reminded me of the popular feeling years ago respecting Abolitionism, and shows what a world of prejudice must be conquered before woman is enfranchised." *Journal*, May 7, 1872.

committee on June 10th, and whether his presence in the city suggested the action or it was premeditated is not known. "I could scarcely believe my eyes and ears, and no man could fail to see that we have entered upon a great political and party revolution. Every indication now points clearly to the endorsement of Greeley at Baltimore and his election in November."⁵

The necessary fraternization with Democrats was naturally a little dreaded by him, but it seems not to have proved so awkward as might have been the case had he been less in earnest in behalf of the new enterprise or had he been obliged to enroll in the Democratic party instead of becoming a part of the Liberal Republican movement. And the fact that so many of his old party friends and associates, such as Sumner, Trumbull, Adams, and Chase were likewise committed to the new venture, also went far to smooth the way.

The Democratic national convention which met in Baltimore on July 9, 1872, accepted both the platform and the nominees of the Liberal Republicans, and three days later the Greeley campaign in Indiana was formally opened by a speech from Julian at the Academy of Music, Indianapolis, to an audience of more than three thousand.⁶ The speech appeared in full in many of the leading newspapers of the country, had a wide circulation in pamphlet form, and was credited with wielding a decided influence among men of all parties. It

5. Julian's *Journal*, June 15, 1872.

6. Julian, *Later Speeches*, p. 1.

was addressed chiefly to Republican friends, and he sought to answer some of their objections to co-operating with the Democrats. This part of the speech is characterized by that humor which he knew so well how to employ and by a certain picturesque style that marked almost all his efforts. Referring to the slowness of the Republican party to declare against slavery in the late war he said: "When the nation was finally in danger of perishing in the Red Sea into which slavery had plunged it, and we could neither save the country nor ourselves without clutching at black ropes, the Republican party became an Anti-slavery party." He was here answering the charge that the Democrats were supporting Greeley and the Cincinnati platform from compulsion, because they had no other recourse.

Julian insisted that this argument was a two-edged sword, cutting the Republicans quite as severely as it cut the Democrats. But neither should shrink from its application. "The truth is, men often adopt a course of action from compulsion, and afterwards espouse it from conviction and maintain it with enthusiasm. I have already referred to the reluctance with which our old Whig friends joined the Republican party, but when they finally did so, and repudiated their servility to slavery, they gave their whole hearts to the cause they had so bitterly opposed. . . . I have referred to the anxious desire of the Republican party to spare slavery; but does any man doubt that after it had made up its mind to

destroy it, Republicans gradually became convinced of the righteousness of the policy? . . . There is often a measure of selfishness in the most praiseworthy acts of men, while enlightened selfishness is not inconsistent with justice and the public good. And let me remind you, my old Republican friends who are so unforgiving toward Democrats, that you yourselves have some cause to judge them with charity. Our bloody war with the South was the child of slavery, and you had your share of guilty complicity with it. For long years you abetted its monstrous pretensions by your political action. You denounced and opposed all opposition to it. You did everything in your power to make the slavery of the South *our* slavery. We have all done our part in pampering the institution into madness and tempting it to its evil deeds. Gerrit Smith used to say that we ought to pay for the slaves of the South on the principle of 'honor among thieves'. And can you remember your political partnership with the rebels of the South whom you now denounce, and the Democrats whom you distrust, and tell them they are incapable of repentance while wrapping yourselves in the robes of self-righteousness?"⁷

But the most admirable part of this speech was the defense of Greeley against the bitter and cruel assaults of the followers of Grant. Here he was at his best, for his soul was in the cause he argued. No levity was discernible in this portion of the

7. *Ibid.* pp. 11-12.

address, but a deep seriousness and tone of judicial fairness creditable alike to the speaker and his theme.

In this speech Julian retracted nothing that he had said in former years, but he insisted that we were facing a new era and that the question was: Should we at last become one people instead of two?

“Shall the nation, purged of the guilt of slavery and purified by trial, employ its time in crimination and recrimination over questions that need nothing but forgetfulness? This is the question for the country to ponder today. It is always easy to pursue a wrong course. It is easy to yield to passion and revenge. It is easy to resurrect passions and resentments after they have been buried. It is easy to remind others of their faults and thus hinder the tendency toward fraternity and good-will. It is easy for Republican politicians to repeat and reiterate their old war speeches, as it would be easy for me to repeat mine, which I would do if you could set back the clock of our history and place me where I stood when I spoke. God forbid that I should utter a word or breathe a whisper that could hinder the approach of peace and brotherhood between the people of the North and the people of the South when I see the way opening for its advent. Let by-gones be by-gones and the dead past bury its dead.”⁸

8. *Ibid.* p. 26.

He spoke ninety-four times during the canvass, to large audiences which so inspired him that even when scarcely able to stand at the opening of the meeting the sight of the faces before him and the contagion of the occasion frequently enabled him to continue for more than two hours, after which he was obliged to seek his bed. To offset the ovations accorded him in many places, he encountered in other quarters torrents of personal abuse and defamation equalling the bitterest experiences of Free Soil days. At one of his meetings a group of colored men appeared armed with revolvers. The incident was not surprising, inasmuch as Morton and others had been warning the people that Greeley and his followers were seeking to re-enslave the negro and saddle upon the country the rebel debt; but violence was averted through the intervention of white Republicans who likewise succeeded in preventing the proposed use of a large supply of bad eggs in another village, long known as the Wayne County headquarters of Abolitionism. The Democrats received scant attention from the Republicans in this campaign, party fury venting itself on the Liberal Republicans almost exclusively. Julian was branded as a sore-head, a renegade, an apostate and a rebel,—terms once familiar to him; and private letters of his so garbled and mutilated as to place him in an utterly false position, were distributed all over the State, along with the most outrageous lies that he had ever encountered. He defended himself of course,

“generally compelling the enemy to retire in disorder”,⁹ but a little later he recorded that “no ordeal could well be more dreadful to men of sensitive nerves than that through which the leading Greeley Republicans have had to pass this year.”¹⁰

Besides his Indiana speeches he made a brief campaign in Kansas where he had the largest and most enthusiastic meetings he had addressed this year, a fact accounted for by his stand in behalf of pioneer settlers against the railroads and corporations which had sought to rob them of their homes. Their attentions reminded him of his experiences among the California homesteaders four years before, and he was glad to counsel and sympathize with them. Men who were doing their best to establish homes and to rear families amid hardships made a peculiar appeal to him, and he was ready to serve them at any sacrifice.

His experiences in the Greeley campaign were strikingly unique in several ways. To find himself stoutly opposed to most of the men with whom he had been in close fellowship for years and who had been his faithful supporters, was as remarkable although perhaps not so embarrassing as it was to enter into full partnership with those against whom he had been waging bitter warfare during the same period. The Democrats were now his political co-workers, “because the subjects

9. Julian's *Journal*, Sept. 8, 1872.

10. *Ibid.* .Nov. 5, 1872. See also *Political Recollections*, p. 343 et seq.

on which we had been divided were withdrawn from the forum of political discussion. While the war lasted, no man hated rebels more sincerely or denounced their crime with more severity than myself. But the war was now over and new questions had to be confronted. So, while slavery lasted, no man opposed it more earnestly or decidedly than I did; but when it was abolished and the negro had been made a citizen and a voter, my quarrel with the slaveholders was at an end. . . . I saw that the spirit of the imprecatory psalms was no longer in order. The more I pondered the policy of amnesty and the farther I went in the canvass, the more thoroughly I became reconstructed in heart. I was greatly aided of course by my hostility to the organized roguery which in the name of Republicanism had seized the nation by the throat. It was a pleasant surprise to find the Democrats personally and socially quite as kindly and in every way as estimable as Republicans, and I was glad enough to be delivered from the glamour which had been blinding my vision to the policy of reconciliation and peace. I found that multitudes of Democrats through a mistaken view of their Constitutional obligations had ranged themselves on the side of slavery while in their hearts they were opposed to it, and rejoiced in its overthrow, . . . while very many Republicans were sincere haters of the negro and secret believers in his enslavement."¹¹

11. Unpublished *Autobiography*.

On going to Washington after the November elections he dined with Chief Justice Chase, and with him went back over the political past, touching also on the present situation, and future prospects. He thought Chase looked prematurely old and worn and attributed this to disappointed ambition.¹² He also called on Sumner and was saddened by the visit, for he found him broken in body and spirit. "He had lost caste with the great party that had so long idolized him and which he had done so much to create and inspire. He had been deserted by the colored race, to whose service he had unselfishly dedicated his life. He had been degraded from his honored place at the head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and for no other reason than the faithful and conscientious discharge of his public duty. He had been rebuked by the Legislature of his own State."¹³ His case strikingly suggested that of John Quincy Adams in 1807, when the anathemas of Massachusetts were showered upon him for

12. Julian's *Journal*, Dec. 22, 1872. One is reminded of Lincoln's characterization of Chase as once and a half bigger than any other man of his acquaintance, and also of Henry Watterson's words anent the thwarted presidential aspirations of Webster and Clay: "I read with a kind of wonder, and a sickening sense of the littleness of great things, those passages in the story of their lives where it is told how they stormed and swore when tidings reached them that they had been balked of their desires. Yet they might have been so happy: so happy in their daily toil, with its lofty aims and fair surroundings: so happy in the sense of duty done; so happy above all in their own Heaven-sent genius, with its noble opportunities and splendid achievements."

13. For his famous Battle Flag Resolution, "that the names of battles with fellow-citizens shall not be continued in the Army Register or placed on the Regimental Colors of the United States."

leaving the Federal party after it had accomplished its mission and survived its character, and joining the supporters of Jefferson. I sympathized with him profoundly; but his case was not so infinitely sad as that of poor Greeley, over whose death however the whole nation seemed to be in mourning. He had greatly overtaxed himself in his masterly and brilliant campaign on the stump, in which he displayed unrivaled intellectual resources and versatility. He had exhausted himself in watching by the bedside of his dying wife. He had been assailed as the enemy of his country by the party which he had done more than any man in the nation to organize. He had been hunted to his grave by political assassins whose calumnies broke his heart. He was scarcely less a martyr than Lincoln, or less honored after his death, and his graceless defamers now seemed to think they could atone for their crime by singing his praises. It is easy to speak well of the dead. It is very easy, even for base and recreant characters, to laud a man's virtues after he has gone to his grave and can no longer stand in their path. It is far easier to praise the dead than to do justice to the living; and it was not strange therefore that eminent clergymen and doctors of divinity who had silently witnessed the pelting of Mr. Greeley by demagogues and mercenaries during the canvass now poured out their eloquence at his grave. What he had sorely needed and was religiously entitled to was the

sympathy and succor of good men while he lived, and especially in his heroic struggle for political reconciliation and reform. The circumstances of his death made it peculiarly touching and sacramental, and I was inexpressibly glad that I had fought his battle so unflinchingly and defended him everywhere against his conscienceless assailants.”¹⁴

Living in retirement Julian and his wife resumed systematic reading, varying a rather serious and heavy regimen with some of the world's greatest fiction. He went frequently to Washington, sometimes in the interest of settlers whose claims he urged before the Interior Department, and sometimes because he had formed the Washington habit and could not remain long away, wrote occasionally for the newspapers on land matters, delivered a few speeches, mingled with neighbors, made improvements in his home, and kept a steady eye on public affairs. The *Crédit Mobilier* revelations, the Beecher trial, the continued abuses and scandals of Grant's administration,—all were of absorbing interest and called forth pointed comment in letters and private journals.

An annoyance amounting almost to a personal affliction was the removal of the County seat from Centerville to Richmond which was finally

14. *Political Recollections*, pp. 350, 351, 352. On the day of Greeley's funeral several yards of black broadcloth which had been purchased with a view to being made into clothing were hung over the entrance to the front door of Julian's home.

consummated after several unsuccessful attempts in the summer of 1873. Foreseeing this action, his brother, Jacob B. Julian and Sylvester Johnson, a neighbor, had purchased two years before a farm just east of Indianapolis which they subdivided into lots and christened Irvington. It was to be a residence suburb, in which no intoxicating liquors were ever to be bought or sold, and to this promising village Julian removed in November 1873, a new home having been erected during the summer. "It is only within the past few months that I have come to the reluctant conclusion that we cannot remain in Centerville. I regret it profoundly, as I never meant to leave this land of my birth and early struggles. As there is no other point in Wayne County in which I wish to live and as I am rather old to go west into one of the newer States, I know of nothing better than to settle in the vicinity of Indianapolis, which is undoubtedly destined to be one of the largest cities in the middle west, and where we shall be accessible to society, libraries, lectures, etc. There too I shall escape the political animosities engendered here within the past twenty-five years, aggravated by the Greeley movement of last year which lost me so many of my old friends."¹⁵

The last few months in Centerville were anxious and unhappy. The county-seat struggle necessitated the rule of mob law in the village a part of the time, his nervous troubles returned

15. Julian's *Journal*, Feb. 23, 1873. He was then fifty-six.

in an aggravated form, and the failure of Jay Cooke & Company in September was recognized as the sure precursor of a general financial panic. This failure was one of the most startling events that could have happened, and it seemed a singular commentary on the prediction freely made the year before of financial ruin in case of Greeley's election. The demand for inflation which came from many quarters at this time and was voiced in Congress by Morton, Logan and others, found no sympathy with Julian because he was too thoroughly grounded in the principles of sound money to be misled by such specious reasoning. But he was seriously crippled by the crash, the new home cost double the amount estimated, and bank stock had to be sold at a heavy loss in order to pay off notes which he had unwisely signed for his brother Jacob.

A trip to Boston and visits with Garrison, Phillips, Theodore D. Weld and other anti-slavery friends, and an Abolition Reunion in Chicago where he spoke on "Lessons of the Anti-Slavery Conflict" pleasantly diversified the spring of 1874. At this meeting he noted with regret a lingering feeling of hostility to Garrison and the non-resistants on the part of the old Liberty Party men, whose conservatism on the woman question also manifested itself when in his talk he took occasion to condemn the disfranchisement of one-half the citizens of the Republic on account of sex.¹⁶

16. *Ibid.* June 28, 1874.

Perhaps no address of his entire life was more carefully thought out or covered a wider and more important range than a speech delivered at Rockville, Indiana, on the invitation of personal and political friends in the autumn of 1873. His theme was "The New Trials of Democracy," and its treatment illustrated the ceaseless activity of his mind and his grave concern with the progress of humanity. He declared that democracy was not 'born out of the sky, nor wrought in dreams', but that it was necessarily colored by the atmosphere in which it lived and was an opportunity quite as much as a power. He dealt illuminatingly with some of the important phases of democracy and the dangers that it encountered under the following heads: 'The People and the Land', 'The Growth and Domination of Cities', 'The Power of Great Corporations', 'The Labor Problem', 'Federal Usurpation', and 'The Decline of Political Morality'.

Under the last caption he took occasion to characterize both the leading parties as "organized obstructions to public welfare, and quite as potent for evil as for good." He declared that their machinery had long been prostituted to base ends, and that their discipline had degenerated into a wanton tyranny over individual judgment and conscience and an unmixed curse to the country. "They present the wretched spectacle of one faction struggling to keep the other out of power, and the other struggling to get in, while roguery and charlatanism rule them both. Each holds

the other in its orbit, and revolves around a common center of antagonism, which is its life . . . They rival one another in the alacrity with which they engage in schemes of plunder and the refreshing audacity with which they violate their political professions. Each justly charges the other with venality and corruption, and each pleads the existence of the other as the excuse for its own. Neither could survive if the other should perish, and either of them would mourn the death of the other since it would inevitably liberate the people from party thralldom and usher in a new dispensation akin to that which at first followed the disruption of the old Whig party and buried the Democratic party in irretrievable dishonor. . . . The marvellous energy displayed by one of these parties during the late war has since been triumphantly turned into the channels of profligacy and plunder, with results that have startled the whole land and made its very name a stench; while the other, throwing away its many opportunities of retrieving its fortunes and saving its once-honored name from disgrace, has joyfully shared in the worst misdeeds of its debauched rival, and thus richly earned the honors of burial in a common grave. No friend of his country should therefore think of pouring the new wine of reform into these old bottles, now so thoroughly defiled by foul uses and so hopelessly beyond the power of disinfection.”¹⁷

In spite of this scathing arraignment of par-

17. *Later Speeches*, pp. 55, 56.

ties, Julian was by no means without hope of democracy. He thought a perfectly unshackled movement of the people, a fellowship of honest men in every section of the country, entirely possible, insuring us the substance and not merely the form of free institutions. "We must snatch freedom itself from the perilous activities quickened into life by its own spirit. We must search out new defenses of democracy in the new trials of its life. The grand work of our times is not the highest development of favored individuals or classes, or the accumulation of great wealth in their hands, but the utmost enlightenment and supreme welfare of the masses. It is not the exceptional culture or commanding advantage of the few, but the uplifting of the many to a higher level. This is the blessed mission of democracy and the true religion of humanity. It may be delayed for a season. It may be temporarily frustrated by the great and impending dangers I have attempted to depict, . . . but all the divine forces are on its side. Christianity is pledged to its triumph. The great law of social evolution foreordains it. Democracy is to come in its fulness, . . . but whether this shall be sooner or later, and whether heralded by the kindly agencies of peace or the harsh power of war, must depend upon the wise and timely use of opportunities."¹⁸

As the time for another presidential campaign

18. *Ibid.* p. 57.

drew near Julian found himself much perplexed. The Liberal Republicans, after all, had not founded a party; they had merely tided over an emergency. While many of them had left the Republicans in 1872, they had not joined the Democratic party, and in default of a new organization they anxiously hoped that worthy nominations and a consequent change of policy might permit their return to their old allegiance. The fearlessness of Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, who in 1874 had become Grant's Secretary of the Treasury, in exposing and prosecuting the frauds of the famous Whiskey Ring, together with his acknowledged high character, brought him prominently before the public as a presidential candidate in 1876. Julian seems to have thought well of him, though he recorded in his *Journal* that he could not avoid feeling that 'Kentucky was not exactly the right place for the coming man to be born in'.¹⁹ But to the general surprise and in spite of Blaine's brilliant showing in the convention, Hayes and Wheeler became the nominees of the Republican party on a platform unequivocally endorsing the Grant administration.²⁰ Tilden and Hendricks were nominated by the Democrats, the platform being better than that of the other

19. April 20, 1876.

20. "Blaine, with all his stock-jobbing record before the country, was only defeated by a blunder of his friends, and Bristow had no chance because Morton and Conkling opposed him." Julian's *Journal*, June 25, 1876. Rhodes says that Bristow was next in line after Blaine and might have been nominated but for his residence south of the Ohio River. Vol. VII, p. 209.

party, Julian thought, although both were too non-committal on the subject of finance.

The country awaited the letters of acceptance with solicitude, while Liberals were inclined in opposite directions. Hayes' letter of acceptance was a good one, making a decidedly favorable impression, while the long delay of Tilden's letter added to the perplexity of many hesitating men who were conscientiously pondering the question of political duty. Julian really wished to go with the Republicans, but the more he looked at the proposition the more impossible it appeared, and he finally decided to espouse the cause of Tilden should the latter's letter accepting the nomination be satisfactory, as it proved to be.²¹

Julian's speech on "The Gospel of Reform,"²² delivered in the Grand Opera House at Indianapolis on August 26th to a magnificent audience, opened the campaign in Indiana for Tilden and Hendricks, and had a phenomenal circulation. Two million copies were distributed by the National Democratic Committee while its publication in newspapers more than doubled this.

21. "However awkward to unite with Democrats in a fight against old party friends and co-workers, it would be still more awkward to join the cohorts of Grant, Morton and the thieves and rings that we fought four years ago, who have proved themselves far worse than we then branded them, who have never repented of their abuse of Sumner, Greeley and the rest for telling what everybody now knows was the truth about Grant and who now ask us to believe them sincere in their demand for reform when they have constantly and shamelessly belied their professions during the last four years." Julian's *Journal*, July 16, 1876.

22. *Later Speeches*, p. 106.

He thoroughly argued the pending political issues from the standpoint of an independent voter, and although portraying the abuses of Grantism during the previous eight years and clearly presenting his reasons for supporting the Democratic ticket, he did not hesitate to condemn the machinery of both the old parties, and expressly reserved his entire political independence. In style, method of discussion, skillful marshalling of facts, force of argument and effectiveness of appeal it was one of his ablest efforts, and undoubtedly had an immense influence.

The Cincinnati *Enquirer* which published the speech in full called it "the ablest speech of the presidential canvass, . . . a compact and eloquent arraignment of the Republican party as it is, and a complete argument, from the standpoint of an original Abolitionist and original Republican and Liberal, for the support of Tilden and Hendricks."²³ The Louisville *Courier-Journal* said: "Mr. Julian speaks as an independent voter and he has not exaggerated the situation. He puts his facts together well and there is not a fair-minded Republican voter who will not profit by a careful perusal of them."²⁴ The Chicago *Times* declared: "Julian is one of the clearest minds in politics, . . . not a partisan in any sense. The thoughts and arguments of Julian are so far from the average stump effort that the

23. Aug. 31, 1876.

24. Aug. 28, 1876.

speech as presented in full this morning will amply repay a close reading. 'There is not a dull line, a vague thought or a political commonplace in it.'"²⁵

Of course the Indianapolis *Sentinel* and the Indianapolis *Journal* looked upon it from opposite angles, and the *News* viewed it from a conservative middle ground, saying: "Mr. Julian has a faculty of presenting whatever he has to offer in the way of argument in a very clear light, and he is a master of invective. As works of art his speeches are always admirable. In the present case, his arraignment of the president and his immediate following, including the 'senatorial group', is severe but just . . . But even taking as acknowledged truths all the severe things Mr. Julian has to say of the condition of public affairs, and the demoralizing influence of such men as Morton and Cameron and Shepherd . . . the conviction remains that Mr. Julian seeks a path to reform which is hedged on either hand with frightful dangers.'"²⁶

Julian took the stump with some misgivings as to his physical endurance, but was able to keep going till the day of the election, October 10th,²⁷ after which he went to Michigan and Wisconsin, speaking also twice in Chicago. He encountered

25. *Ibid.* August 28, 1876.

26. August 28, 1876.

27. Preceding the adoption of a special Constitutional amendment of 1881, state elections in Indiana were held on the second Tuesday in October. Since 1881, however, state elections are held on the same day as the national election.

far less abuse than had been his lot in 1872, the newspapers treating him with unusual fairness, and enjoyed the campaign exceedingly. One of his cleverest speeches was made at Cincinnati in company with Senator Thurman of Ohio, at Robinson's Opera House. Others had preceded him, and he probably thought the audience in a mood for a little fun, for his sportive and sometimes satirical remarks were almost constantly interrupted by laughter and applause.²⁸ He continued his tour eastward, speaking at Pittsburgh, Philadelphia²⁹ and New York City, where he dined with Governor Tilden and had a full and free discussion of public matters. Tilden's remark at dinner, "The Democratic party needs remodeling" pleased him of course, and both recalled pleasantly the fact that they had attended the Buffalo convention as delegates in 1848. He saw nothing of the coldness generally attributed to Tilden and was agreeably surprised to find him "a fine looking well preserved old gentleman with a first rate prospect of living from ten to twenty years longer."³⁰

Julian entertained no doubt as to the result of

28. Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Oct. 31, 1876. The Cincinnati *Gazette* said of this speech on the same date: "The effort of Hon. George W. Julian was full of dash and vigor and smart things, like Ingersoll, and kept the audience in amazingly good spirits."

29. "For more than an hour and a half the Hon. Geo. W. Julian of Indiana, one of the founders of the Republican party as well as one of its ablest members, delighted 4,000 people at the Forrest Mansion Hall with his scathing wit and superb eloquence." Philadelphia *Chronicle*, Nov. 3, 1876.

30. Julian's *Journal*, Dec. 10, 1876.

the election, and the early returns seemed to settle it beyond controversy. Nearly all the Republican morning newspapers the next day gave it up and fell to moralizing on the subject. But that night Secretary Chandler, chairman of the Republican National committee confidently claimed the victory and all eyes were turned to Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. The case continued in doubt and on November 11th came a telegram to Julian from Abram S. Hewitt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, requesting him as one of a company of well known public men to repair to New Orleans for the purpose of watching the proceedings of the Louisiana Returning Board, and securing if possible an honest count of the vote. Julian was much jaded by his labors and at first felt that he could not undertake this unexpected additional service, but after committees and individuals had visited him and urged his going as a public duty he set out, with reluctance, on the evening of the 14th. He found the city of New Orleans perfectly quiet and at once realized how unnecessary and gratuitous had been the sending of troops there.

Soon after his arrival he received calls from Mr. Pinchback, Governor Warmoth, Governor Antoine and other prominent men, and found that his Indianapolis speech had insured for him a cordial welcome. The Democrats down there had not forgotten his strong words of more than a quarter of a century before in dealing with slav-

ery and slave holders; but slavery was abolished. They had fallen into the clutches of rogues who belonged to the party with which he had formerly acted, and when they found him, an old Abolitionist, ready to come to their rescue they seemed to be as sincerely and warmly his friends as if he had been with them from the beginning. As a rule, they were ready to confess that slavery had been their curse, and were now anxious only for good government and an opportunity to rebuild their shattered fortunes. His intercourse with them was exceedingly pleasant, and so many invitations poured in upon him that he was obliged to deny himself in order to look after the business on which he had come. He had not expected to be in New Orleans more than a week, but the work dragged along so that not until December 7th, was he able to leave for home. The rascalities of the Returning Board exceeded anything he had supposed possible, and he considered the counting out of Tilden's majority of 8,000 votes an outrage to which the people of the United States should not submit.

On returning to Indianapolis he found the Democracy of Indiana in full sympathy with his views as to the duty of resisting the conspiracy by which Governor Tilden was to be deprived of the office to which he had been chosen. The State Central Committee soon appointed a mass convention at Indianapolis for January 8th, for the purpose of giving expression to the spirit and

purpose of the people, and invited Julian to deliver an address on that occasion on the subject of "The Louisiana Returning Board." This he did in a thorough manner, overhauling the action of Senator Sherman and his associates in pettifogging their cause and evading an honest search after the truth; exposing the knavery of the Board in refusing to fill its existing vacancy and hiding its performances under the mantle of darkness; pointing out the autocratic power with which the Republican officials of the State were armed, and painting the rule of lawlessness and crime which had afflicted Louisiana for years; and triumphantly meeting the charge of Democratic intimidation by fact, argument and ridicule. This address called forth an enthusiastic response from one of the largest popular gatherings ever held in the State and was widely circulated through special editions of many of the leading dailies of the country.³¹

The adoption of the Electoral Commission plan however balked the popular indignation and marked the first step of the Democrats in surrendering to the other side their clear right to the victory they had won. Julian opposed this plan

31. Of this speech the Cincinnati *Commercial*, Murat Halstead's paper, said editorially on Jan. 9, 1877:

"Into it he poured all the gall of disappointment, all the bitterness of jealousy, all the hatred of envy, all the eloquence of abuse that could originate in the brain of one of the ablest, most brilliant, meanest and most malignant of men—a man whose nature is great and small, admirable and hateful, with the brain of a man and a statesman and the soul of a cynic and misanthrope—one of the brightest, greatest, meanest of mankind."

from the first and deplored the infatuation which was willing to commit the dispute to the arbitrament of any Republican Senator or Supreme Court Judge. He was as unwilling to trust such men as he would have been to allow a man with whom he was at law to sit as judge in the case; and he could see no occasion for the proceeding, inasmuch as the Constitution had already provided a tribunal for the settlement of the dispute in the two Houses of Congress. The Democrats however rushed headlong into the artfully baited Republican trap, and thus allowed themselves to be cheated out of the Presidency. So thought Julian, and it made him heart-sick. "I had had a good share of political experience," said he, "including several trying personal defeats, but I had encountered nothing more trying than this. I saw no silver lining to the cloud. It seemed to me an unmingled and unrelieved humiliation. The Democrats and their Liberal allies had gloriously triumphed, but they threw away their victory because they had no leader. The masses were at all times ready for decisive action, if a Jackson had been at hand to point the way. I felt so disappointed and disgusted that on February 20th, I started to Washington, hoping I might be able to do something in bracing up Democrats to defeat the Electoral conspiracy; but I soon found that nothing could be done, although a formidable minority was at work. The party was hopelessly divided, while Hayes was securing votes for the

completion of the count by all sorts of promises through his friends. A pretty vigorous resistance was made till the morning of March 2nd, when the great national theft was consummated. When the State of South Carolina was reached I was strongly urged by Judge Black, Mr. Merrick and others to argue the case, and if I had been notified in time I would have done so, as it involved questions with which I considered myself competent to deal. But I had not sufficient time for preparation and declined. . . . I know of course that time will adjust and rectify all things, but many will go down to their graves without being permitted to witness the vindication of the right.”³²

32. Julian's *Journal*, Mar. 11, 1877.

CHAPTER XV

*Articles for the Reviews—Campaign of 1880—
Political Recollections—Death of Laura
Giddings Julian—Election of Cleve-
land—Surveyor General of
New Mexico*

Julian's disappointment and vexation over the result of the presidential contest soon gave way to interest in the future. He felt increasingly the desirability of steady employment, both for the sake of his health and because he needed to earn some money. While considering what was best to be done he decided to write the story of his life for his children, and to this task the summer of 1877 was mainly devoted. He and Mrs. Julian also found time to read a great many books, old and new. He was actively interested in a village "school war" in the early autumn which caused him much annoyance, and in which he felt constrained to oppose some of his near neighbors who had forcibly ejected from the school-house a worthy New England teacher who had served efficiently the preceding season and had been engaged by the old school board for another year. As in other cases, "the peremptoriness of his convictions" prevented his admitting any excuse for the conduct of men who would lay violent hands upon a woman. He advised Miss Lydia R. Put-

nam to bring suit, which she did, and the offenders had to pay dearly, both financially and in loss of standing in the community.

While in Washington in January, 1878, whither he went frequently to look after legal cases in which he was employed, chiefly concerning land matters, he was called upon by Allen Thorndike Rice, editor of the *North American Review* and asked to furnish an article for the March issue of the magazine on "The Death Struggle of the Republican Party." This offer both surprised and pleased him, and he agreed to perform the task. It was while on this trip to Washington that he learned, in a conversation with Abram S. Hewitt, chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1876, that had Tilden become President he would have tendered Julian the post of Secretary of the Interior. Apropos of this Julian recorded in his *Journal*: "It is best for me as it is, as I should have undertaken it and would have broken down through lack of health for so arduous and responsible a position: but I am gratified to have been thought worthy and fit for it."¹ This philosophy was characteristic of him. When the fates seemed to have decided against him he quickly adjusted himself to the situation and concluded that the result was after all fortunate. So when a struggle was on, there was but one right side and no possibility of halting, nor any excuse for misgivings. But once it was over,

1. Julian's *Journal*, March 17, 1878.

and his side the loser, he set himself to pointing out the extenuating circumstances of defeat and fixed his mind on the next engagement.

His article for the *North American Review* was forwarded on February 10th, and three days later came this letter:

"The North American Review
549 & 551 Broadway, New York
Feb. 12, '78.

"Hon. George W. Julian,
Dear Sir:

Your article is indeed fine. I say with Jeffrey, 'Where can you have picked up your style?' Such work as you have given us will have a permanent place in American literature.

By this mail I send proof. . . . Pray mail your revise tomorrow evening.

Permit me to thank you for undertaking the task which you have performed so well and so promptly. You will make Rome howl. Believe me,

Yours very truly,

A. Thorndike Rice."²

The opening paragraph indicates the style and temper of this contribution. After asserting that the origin and growth of parties in countries possessing popular governments and controlled by public opinion follow the laws of development attending tropical forests, he describes the many difficulties attending the development of a seed

from the time it falls to the earth till it spreads its branches in the air, and then continues:

“So with the Republican party. Chilled by want of sympathy, denounced as violators of the Constitution, derided as visionary enthusiasts, persecuted as disturbers of the public peace, the founders of this party were faithful to their mission—the defense of human liberty. Amid contempt, misrepresentation, threatenings, like the Earl of Oxford they kept alive the bird in their bosom, and were steadfast to the end. Unkind was the soil in which they deposited their little seed. Long and cruel were the years before germination really began. But in time the tender rootlets reached the rich, warm sympathies of human hearts, and the plant grew apace. Verdant leaf and spreading branch followed, and beneath the protecting shade gathered the hopes of the world’s oppressed. The faithful hearts of the first planters rejoiced in the work, and their strong hands could pluck some fragrant flowers that gave promise of early fruit—the only reward they sought. But that which had long been seen only by the eye of faith became at length visible to the eye of flesh, and birds of prey winged their way to the stately tree, befouling its purity, and creeping parasites of every kind fastened upon trunk and limb, exhausting their substance, and converting the fair fruit of sincerity into apples of Sodom. The faithful planters who had watched and waited, as the shepherds in the East

the guiding star, have been driven from the garden, and to secure their exclusion, self-seeking demons, with sword of corruption, keep watch at the gates. Like the Communists of Paris, they forbid the entrance to the temple of liberty to the builders of the edifice and the sincere worshippers at its altar, and stand ready to destroy it unless permitted to control. Let us glance at the history of the Republican party and indicate some of the methods by which the deforming hand of ambition has been able to gain the command of its fortunes and is now lashing it to death.”³

This “glance” verified Rice’s prediction and made “Rome howl”, notably in elaborate replies in the May issue of the *Review* by the two senators from Wisconsin, Matt H. Carpenter and Timothy O. Howe.⁴ These attacked but did not weaken his positions, and the article of Senator Howe called forth from Julian a brief and incisive communication in the *New York World* of May 7th.

He had now acquired a taste for literary work, and during the same year two other articles from his pen appeared, one in the *North American Review* for September entitled “Is The Reformer Any Longer Needed?” and the other in the November issue of the *International Review* on “The Pending Ordeals of Democracy”. The former was offered to *The Atlantic Monthly* where it

3. *North American Review*, Vol. 126, p. 262.

4. *Ibid.* May, 1878.

would have made its appearance had Julian consented to certain alterations, as the following letter from the editor shows:

“Editorial Office of
The Atlantic Monthly
Winthrop Square
Boston

July 12, 1878

“My dear Sir:

I have read your paper with great interest and pleasure. I think it particularly strong, fresh and good in its leading idea, namely the wickedness and killing absurdity of applying to the moral world a scientific hypothesis of the material creation; you have a real *find* in that. But I should be unwilling to admit to the magazine your censure of Mr. Hayes' administration; and I feel that you would weaken with most of our readers the strength of your real position by affirming so plainly as you do the desirability of female suffrage.

I must therefore return the pages, greatly as I regret to do so. If you can modify it in the particulars mentioned. . . . I should be glad to print the article. Its value is in the great principle so distinctly presented.

Yours very truly,

W. D. Howells.”⁵

Julian declined to make these changes and as before stated his article appeared in the Septem-

5. Julian *Letters*.

ber *North American Review*. The *International Review* for January, 1879, contained an article of his on "Suffrage, A Birthright", and in the March *Atlantic* was another on "Our Land Policy". All these were well received and widely copied, and had he been in independent circumstances it is probable that he would have given himself entirely to such pursuits, for he had a strong bent in this direction. But these and the incidental law cases in which he was engaged were not sufficiently remunerative to meet the needs of his family.⁶ Accordingly, in the spring of 1879 he formed a legal partnership with William A. Meloy of Washington, D. C., and for several years spent considerable time in the National Capital. But about this time the sight of his right eye almost failed and he developed a serious bronchial affection which further impeded his activities. Mrs. Julian was his amanuensis and reader henceforward, and constantly cheered and encouraged him, as his *Journal* bears witness. The list of books read by them during the decade beginning with 1874, at the end of which her death occurred, is indeed formidable, even for readers so voracious as they were, and one wonders that there was time for anything else. But another trip to California, frequent visits to Washington,

6. Commenting on the forced sale of bank stock at a mere fraction of what it had cost and what it would later be worth, in order to pay off notes for his brother, he recorded a little later: "The fact that I have not had brains enough to hold on to my accumulations and thus provide suitably for my family is most humiliating." *Journal*, May 25, 1879.

numerous addresses and magazine articles, besides participation in the campaign of 1880 and the preparation and publication of *Political Recollections*, varied the program. Pleasing incidents of the California expedition were stops in Carrollton, Missouri, with his old Greenfield friend and co-founder of the Dark Lyceum, Judge George Pattison, and with Governor Charles Robinson⁷ in Lawrence, Kansas, where he spoke at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first settlement of Kansas and met for the first time Edward Everett Hale. In San Francisco he became acquainted with Henry George who told him he had just arranged with the Appletons for the publication of a volume entitled *Progress and Poverty*, an advance copy of which suitably inscribed George soon afterwards sent Julian.⁸

Before going to California Julian prepared an article for the *International Review* entitled "Some Political Notes and Queries" which appeared anonymously in the August (1879) issue, and made quite a stir. It was an arraignment of the old political parties and an appeal to the independent voter.

He said: "Political independence is the demand of the hour. In the case of all great party divisions there is a third party, not under the drill of either, which holds the balance of power; and

7. Charles Robinson, Free State governor of Kansas, who with his wife underwent many hardships during the dark days preceding the Civil War.

8. Julian's *Journal*, October 10, 1879.

nothing is now more needed than accessions to that party and a fresh instalment of courage. It may seem a solecism, but it is nevertheless true that in free governments minorities often rule. Our independent voters are already strong enough to have illustrated this truth. In 1872 the Republicans carried New York by a majority of fifty thousand votes. In 1874 the Democrats triumphed by the same majority,—thus showing that the State was not divided into two parties but three, and that the potency of the party battle-cry was dependent upon outside help. . . . As the make-weight in party divisions they are able to create the majority they desire, and this power imposes upon them a very grave responsibility and invests their action with a commanding interest. It is true that they are compelled to make themselves of no reputation. They are able to parade no grand procession of followers. They are allowed no triumphs when their victory is won. They are rewarded by none of the spoils of office. They are obliged to face the general hostility and scorn which the smallness of their numbers and the potency of their action naturally invoke. They are styled ‘dreamers’, ‘impracticables’ and ‘malcontents’; but they are nevertheless the true conservative force in our politics and the real leaven of reform. Like the members of other parties they are liable to make mistakes. Their lack of organization and discipline is certainly attended by some disadvantages. In-

dependent voters can accomplish nothing in the rôle of trimmers and mercenaries. In truth, the crying need of the times is character in politics. Character is the condition precedent of every worthy achievement. The Whig party perished not merely because the issues on which it was organized had been settled, but because its conscience left it and drew after it a formidable force in the fight against slavery. In disowning their party allegiance and unfurling their own banner, these political independents followed the example of Fox and Wesley in a different field of reform. They adopted the true method.

“The triumph of the Republican party in 1860 was the culmination and ripe fruit of independent voting, beginning with the old Liberty party and the Free Soil movement which followed it. These were largely reinforced by recruits from the Democratic party, and its defeat in 1860 would not have been possible without the help of these desertions of honest and patriotic men from its ranks. We believe we are safe in saying that in every great trial of the country independent voting has been its deliverance. It is the sovereign remedy when parties sink into factions; and if the country is not lifted out of the slough of general debauchment and misgovernment in which it now lies floundering, it will be the fault of this saving balance of power. We do not say that it can itself accomplish so grand a task, but it can inaugurate it. It can rally and organize its forces

and gather strength through its example of political courage and independence. It can open the way for other movements which will naturally affiliate in the overthrow of effete organizations and the final creation of new ones. It can rouse laggards and cowards from their supineness, and make uneasy the consciences of men who are held in a false position by timidity and habit. As we have already said, the rule of existing parties is prolonged by the mere sufferance of men who deplore it, while they submit to its authority. In both (parties) there is an element of honesty quite strong enough to command respect and dictate terms, if it possessed the courage to act.”⁹

This article called forth various guesses as to its author, one of which is spoken of in the following letter from one of the editors of the *Review*, a future party leader whose star, then scarcely discernible above the horizon, gave no hint of the eclipse which was to overtake it some forty years later:

“East Point, Nahant,
Aug. 1st, 1879.

“Dear Sir:

I enclose some extracts from the newspapers here which may interest you. Your article came so near my own convictions that you see the paper has been generally attributed to me. I differed from you only in thinking your general tone as to the future too gloomy. Not desiring to take

9. *International Review*, Aug., 1879.

credit however which does not belong to me and which has been attributed to me by name, I told the editor of the *Herald* that I was not the author.

It is pleasant to see that the arrow of your wholesome criticism has gone home, as is shown by the extract from the *Journal*, our most partisan Republican sheet. The other papers,—the *Springfield Republican* and the *Herald*, are both Independent and sympathize.

Very truly yrs.

H. C. Lodge.”¹⁰

The other editor of the *International Review*, John T. Morse, Jr., wrote Mr. Julian:

“I fully coincide in all your views and am heartily pleased at the forcible manner in which you have expressed them. I have had no article offered to me which has pleased me better than yours. I only doubt whether the chances of Gen. Grant and Mr. Blaine are so good as you state.¹¹ But I am not in a good position to judge and should be obliged, tho’ reluctantly, to accept your opinion upon these points.”¹²

Julian’s article on “The Abuse of the Ballot and Its Remedy” in the same *Review* the following May, still further showed the bent of his mind. Keeping his eye on the political situation, he was convinced that Grant and Tilden would be the respective standard bearers and was much surprised when Garfield and Hancock were nomi-

10. Julian *Letters*.

11. In this article Julian predicted the nomination by the next Republican National Convention of Grant or Blaine.

12. Julian *Letters*. July 7, 1879.

nated. The independent organization he so much desired had not materialized. And remembering Garfield's connection with the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal and his failure to raise his voice against Grantism, bearing in mind particularly the persistent efforts to cover up Republican shortcomings by vigorous waving of the "bloody shirt", and looking upon General Hancock as a man of unquestioned integrity with the courage and strength to live up to the splendid opportunity his election would offer, he had no hesitation in deciding to support the Democratic ticket.¹³ The nomination of William H. English was distasteful to him. The party platforms presented no well-defined issue save as to the tariff, but no one seemed to expect this issue to dominate. "We have outlived the era in which clearly defined questions of policy formed the pivots upon which the action of parties turned. . . . But since one of these parties will certainly rule the country for the next four years, the question submitted to the popular judgment is a general one, involving simply the choice to be made between them, and the personal qualities of their standard bearers."¹⁴

13. "Quite unexpectedly, Garfield was nominated at Chicago. He is a man of brains, and a far better specimen of a leader than Blaine, Sherman and the rest; but if his friends had not forgotten his record in the excitement of the moment he would hardly have been nominated. The nomination of Hancock by the Democrats was an equal surprise. I don't like military presidents, and if I believed he would surround himself with the sort of moral and political trash that Grant delighted in I certainly would not support him. But he is a perfectly clean man, with the instincts of a gentleman, and can be trusted." Julian's *Journal*, July 4, 1880.

14. *Later Speeches*, p. 180.

In the speech from which the foregoing is taken, which was delivered in the Wigwam at Indianapolis on August 24, 1880, at the opening of the campaign, he insisted that it was not the Democratic party of 1860, but the Democratic party of 1880, inevitably molded and instructed by great historic events, that was asking to be entrusted with the government for the next four years. It could not fairly be reproached for an administrative record which it had had no opportunity to make nor be condemned on any theory of constructive guilt and imputed depravity. The same reasoning applied likewise to the Republican party. Its fitness to administer the government now was by no means established by its having crushed out the rebellion and abolished slavery, in which it had the powerful and indispensable co-operation of Democrats. We must be guided mainly by the facts which made up the civil administration of the government since the close of the war and the settlement of the questions it involved. What claim had the Republican party to a longer lease of power founded on its record of the past dozen years? He then proceeded to show its recreancy to its platforms of 1868, 1872, and 1876, which constituted so many danger signals along its pathway. He declared that the Republican leaders seemed to understand this perfectly, for at the very threshold of the present canvass they were asking that their misdeeds of the past twelve years be condoned on the score of

the party's war record and the total depravity of the Democratic party.¹⁵

Julian's plea for peace between the North and the South and for the re-arrangement of parties on questions wholly disconnected with the settled issues of the past was sound and forcible, dignified and just. Finally he insisted that the only way to close the era of sectional estrangement and re-establish the orderly and healthy administration of affairs was to drive the Republican party from power and place the government in other hands.

"This conclusion is not at all affected by the conduct of the Democratic party years ago, in its relations to slavery and the war, nor by its record since. It has not been charged with the administration of national affairs for many years, with the slight exception of its recent ascendancy in Congress, during which the power of the lobby has been broken, the political and social atmosphere of Washington improved, and the annual expenditures of the government greatly reduced. But I do not rest the case upon these facts. The Democratic party is not innocent of very grave political mistakes and offenses. This has been especially true in particular States and districts during the dispensation of plunder and misgovernment which marked the two administrations of General Grant. During the years of sectional bitterness unavoidably resulting from the war,

15. *Ibid.* pp. 181-182.

and needlessly aggravated by demagogues, the Democratic party had a very trying experience, and often sadly failed in meeting the obligations of patriotism and statesmanship. I am not here to defend it where its conduct is not defensible. I do not disguise the fact that should it now regain power it will have on its hands a work of exceeding difficulty. I do not believe in the power of any party to work miracles, but it is the only instrument through which the government can now be rescued from the depraved dynasty which controls it, and which as I have shown has completely lost the power of self-recovery. We cannot afford to postpone the work of saving the country till a perfect party shall offer to undertake it; and it is always wiser to run the hazard of possible or even probable evils than voluntarily to accept those which are certain. Twenty years of power would demoralize a party of angels. It would convert them into a governing class, with interests wholly apart from those of the people, and the complete overhauling of their misdeeds would only be possible through a new party stimulated in its work by a political victory and having control of their records."¹⁶

In conclusion he dealt with the characters of the respective standard bearers, in a manner dispassionate and thorough, leaving Garfield's fame sadly smirched, his crowning act of perfidy being his conduct as a member of the Louisiana Return-

16. *Ibid.* pp. 199-200.

ing Board. This speech of Julian's was fully up to the level of his main efforts of the preceding two presidential campaigns, perhaps a little more judicial in its general tone, and it had a wide circulation. Of course it was not sufficiently partisan to be thoroughly acceptable to all the Democrats, and his campaign this year was under the auspices entirely of the National (not the State) Democratic Committee. After the Indiana election, which then occurred in October, he spent two weeks campaigning with Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin in eastern New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. The success of the Republicans in Indiana was a complete surprise to Julian,¹⁷ but he still believed the general verdict would be in favor of the Democrats. The final result however was not so utterly depressing as it had been in 1872 and 1876. He had gone up 'Salt River' so frequently that its navigation was far from insupportably unpleasant. The political tide was still against him, but he comforted himself with the assurance that he had been in the right. No man had successfully controverted the conclusions of his speech of August 24th, and this

17. "I found myself stunned and dumbfounded. Universal gloom among Democrats succeeded universal joy and exultant confidence. All signs pointed to an overwhelming victory, but all signs signally failed. The Republicans broke forth in shouts, songs, and all sorts of extravagant demonstrations. . . . The past is beyond recall, and the thing to do is to go right on with the fight. The prospect of electing Hancock is dubious, but we may yet win. I am just in receipt of a telegram from Barnum (chairman of the National Democratic Committee) asking me to come to New York at once, and I shall go today." Julian's *Journal*, Oct. 14, 1880.

together with his efforts in the Greeley and Tilden campaigns, he thought must bear witness to the truth in years to come. His "faith was large in time, and that which worketh to some perfect end."

Julian had a marked disposition to seek out and endeavor publicly to set right men who seemed to have been slighted by history. An instance of this was his article in the *International Review* for June, 1882, on "The Genesis of Modern Abolitionism". In this article he clearly proved that Charles Osborn, a Quaker preacher of North Carolina, and not William Lloyd Garrison, was the first to proclaim the duty of immediate and unconditional emancipation in the United States. This drew the fire of several Garrison enthusiasts, one of whom, Oliver Johnson, a co-worker with the great New England Abolitionist and one of his biographers, replied to Julian in the September issue of the *Review*, and was in turn answered in the November number. Another instance of this sort of attention on Julian's part was his sketch some ten years later of "Thomas Morris, A Forgotten Hero",¹⁸ dealing with an early anti-slavery United States Senator from Ohio, which was given several times as an address before literary clubs before being printed by the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. Perhaps nothing afforded him more genuine satisfaction than such efforts in behalf

18. Morris, born in Virginia in 1776, took his seat as a Democratic United States Senator from Ohio in 1833, and bravely stood up against Clay and Calhoun in behalf of the right of anti-slavery petition.

of faithful servants in the cause of freedom who seemed to have been overlooked or to have failed of just recognition.

Towards the close of the year 1882 he prepared three articles on the power of railways over the government, the first of which appeared in the *International Review* for February, 1883, and was entitled "Our Land Grant Railways in Congress", and the second the following month in the *North American Review* on "Railway Influence in the General Land Office". The latter called forth a rejoinder from Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, in the *New York Evening Post*, to which Julian replied in the *New York World*, Schurz again replying in the *Sun*. Henry Beard, a railroad attorney of Washington City, also entered the lists against Julian in an elaborate pamphlet, this being answered by the *Reporter*, a legal publication of Washington. Julian's third article, "Our Land Grant Railways in the Federal Courts", was declined by the *International Review* without an assigned reason, at the end of two months, and by the *North American* on account of its length. But in both cases Julian believed the real reason was their reluctance to appear as the medium of an attack on the Supreme Court.¹⁹ It appeared in the *Indiana Law Magazine*, and was also printed in pamphlet and sent to newspapers which gave it still wider publicity and many of which commented on it favorably.

19. Julian's *Journal*, June 10, 1883.

Julian's volume of *Political Recollections* made its appearance in November, 1883 from the press of Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago, and called forth wide and altogether friendly comment. With Mrs. Julian's valuable assistance as amanuensis and in revising and polishing he had devoted considerable time to this work for more than a year, and some chapters had been published in magazines. Beginning with the campaign of 1840, the book gives a running account of political movements in this country down to the close of the Greeley campaign, with many pen pictures of the leaders of both great parties. It grieved him to discover, after its appearance, several errors in names and dates, and he therefore carefully prepared the copy for a new edition, which however was not issued.

Mrs. Julian's sudden death from heart-disease on March 31, 1884, during his absence in Washington, was a blow that only the thought of his children and their need armed him with courage to bear. He gave up his law partnership in Washington, lived among his books, and bravely sought to adapt himself to the changed conditions of life.

Partly in order to escape from sad reflections and partly because it was not possible to divorce himself entirely from politics, he agreed to make a few speeches in behalf of Cleveland in the campaign of 1884. His main address on "The Republican Party and Reform" was delivered on

August 28th in the Park Theatre, Indianapolis.²⁰ This was a vigorous indictment of a great organization and its chosen standardbearer, Blaine, and an earnest plea for political morality. That his plea did not fall on deaf ears was indicated in various ways, notably in the result of the fall elections. The latter half of October was occupied by a speaking tour in eastern Wisconsin, an undertaking beyond his strength. Two congestive chills warned him of danger, yet he persisted in filling his engagements, and strange to say, election day found him in little worse condition than usual. Of course the result was to his liking; it was what he had longed and labored for since 1872.

During the winter and spring he was constantly bewildered as to what he ought to do or could do to earn some money, for he was poor. At length, on the advice of friends in different parts of the country, he decided to seek the position of Commissioner of the General Land Office, a place for which his familiarity with land matters, dating back to his service in the Thirty-first Congress, seemed especially to fit him. In this he had the hearty backing of Tilden. But his well known physical infirmities undoubtedly stood in the way, and it certainly would have been questionable whether he could have stood the strain of so laborious a task. But the lukewarmness of several Indiana Democratic leaders at this time was an interesting commentary on the fortunes

20. *Later Speeches*, p. 215.

of the independent voter when political plums are in question. The appointment was never tendered him.

While preparing an article for the *North American Review* on "The Spoliation of the Public Lands", which appeared in the August number, a letter came from President Cleveland stating that he wished to "break up the rings in New Mexico" and asking Julian if he would feel free to co-operate with him by accepting the office of Governor or Surveyor General of that Territory, and if so, which of the two.²¹ This was a complete surprise. He had never thought of going to the frontier. His interest in land matters made the Surveyor Generalship seem the more attractive of the two. But would his health warrant his living in so high an altitude? Friends advised his trying it, and on reflection he did not feel at liberty to decline. His appointment as Surveyor General soon followed, and having leased his home for an indefinite period he set out, with his two children, for his new field of labor, in his sixty-eighth year.

2. Julian *Letters*, May 10, 1885.

CHAPTER XVI

New Mexico—Spanish and Mexican Land Grants—Makes Enemies—Opposition to Confirmation—Plan for Settling Titles—Speech in Behalf of Cleveland—Home Again—Life of Giddings—Campaign of 1892—Sonnet by Isaac Hoover Julian—Last Speech—Latest Activities—Death—Funeral

The transition from the green fields and luxurious forests of central Indiana to the sandy levels and rugged mountains of New Mexico was of course marked. Instead of opening his eyes each morning on the friendly maples outside his window Julian beheld Old Baldy with his crown of snow, and in the place of his familiar neighbors, were chiefly swarthy men wearing sombreros, equally swarthy women with shawls over their heads, and Indians in bright blankets. The Mexicans outnumbered the whites in the ratio of seven to one; but Santa Fe was at that time a flourishing military post, and this fact insured a contingent of pleasant society. Edmund G. Ross of Kansas, who had just been appointed Governor of New Mexico, had served with him in Congress, and was one of the seven Republican Senators who had voted against the impeachment of

President Johnson, thus preventing the necessary two-thirds. Ross met him at the train on his arrival and many were the pleasant interviews between the two during the ensuing four years relating both to the past and the interests of the present.

Julían made his home at St. Vincent's Sanitarium, where the Sisters were assiduous in kind attentions and where he enjoyed the society of several highly educated Catholic priests who were sojourning there in search of health. So cordial were his relations with one of these that discussions on religious themes were ventured on with no diminution of friendship and regard. The air was almost intoxicating in its freshness and life-giving properties, and after a serious attack of fever such as afflicts many persons on going from the sea level to very high altitudes he began to improve in health and felt that the change was exactly what he needed. The work of his office, while new as to details, involved questions in which he had long been interested and with which he was thoroughly familiar.

"When New Mexico was ceded to the United States the estimated area of Spanish and Mexican land grants was about twenty-four thousand square miles, or a little over fifteen million acres, being equal in extent to the land surface of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont. The Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo of 1848 and the Law of Nations obliged the United States

to respect the title of all these grants so far as found valid under the laws of Spain and Mexico; and to this end the act of Congress of July 22, 1854, was passed, creating the office of Surveyor General for the Territory and making it his duty "to ascertain the origin, nature, character, and extent" of these claims and report his opinion thereon for the final action of Congress. This armed the Surveyor General with very large and responsible powers. He was required to pass upon the title of hundreds of thousands of acres, while no court in the Union had any authority to review his opinions, which were final and absolute, subject only to the ultimate supervision of Congress. This legislation would have proved wise and salutary if the Surveyors General had been first-rate lawyers, incorruptible men, and diligent in their work, and if Congress had promptly acted upon the cases reported for final decision. But the reverse of all this happened. Competent and fit men for so important a service would not accept it for the meager salary provided by law. Official life in an old Mexican province, and in the midst of an alien race, offered few attractions to men of ambition and force. Moreover, the men who could be picked up for the work were exposed to very great trials. Their duties presupposed judicial training and an adequate knowledge of both Spanish and American law; but with one or two exceptions they were not lawyers at all, while they were clothed with the power to

adjudicate the title to vast areas of land. Of course the speculators who bought these grants at low rates from the grantees or their descendants, in the hope of large profits, comprehended the situation perfectly. They sought the good will of the Surveyor General because they desired an opinion favorable to their titles. In furtherance of this purpose they took note of his small salary and his natural love of thrift, while carefully taking his measure with the view of enlisting him in their service by controlling motives. It quite naturally happened that forged and fraudulent grants, covering very large tracts, were declared valid, and that the Surveyor General's office very often became a mere bureau in the service of grant claimants and not the agent and representative of the government. Instead of construing these claims strictly against the grantee and devolving upon him the burden of establishing his claim by affirmative proofs, the Surveyor General acted upon the principle that Spanish and Mexican grants are to be presumed, and all doubts solved in the interest of the claimant.

“But the wholesale plunder of the public domain was carried on with still more startling results through extravagant and fraudulent surveys. The grant owners did not exhaust their resources on the Surveyor General. Their dalliance with his deputies was even more shameful. At the date of these old grants the Spanish and Mexican governments attached little value to their lands. They were abundant and cheap, and granted in

the most lavish and extravagant quantities. Leagues, not acres, were the units of measurement, and no actual survey was thought of when a grant was made. A rude sketch-map was drawn by some uneducated herdsman, giving a general outline of the tract, with some of the prominent natural objects indicating its boundaries. These boundaries were necessarily vague and indefinite, while the natural objects which marked them often became obliterated by time. When New Mexico became the property of the United States, and the owners of these grants asked the government for a preliminary survey in aid of their identification and for the purpose of asserting title, there was no law providing for the judicial determination of the true boundaries, and the deputy surveyor, who was under no particular obligations to ascertain them, was interested in the length of his lines, being paid so many dollars per mile. He was nominally an officer of the government, but really a mere contractor and naturally in sympathy with the grant owner rather than the United States. The latter was never represented in these surveys, while the owner of the grant was always present, in person or by his agent, and directed the deputy surveyor in his work. His controlling purpose was to make the area of his grant as large as possible, and his interpretation of its terms invariably conformed to this idea.”¹

1. *North American Review*, July, 1887, Vol. 145, p. 17.

These two paragraphs from an article by Julian in the *North American Review* for July, 1887, give an idea of the task that confronted him when, under instructions from the Land Office, he undertook to overhaul the work of his predecessors. Nearly all the men of property in the Territory were interested in land grants, and his investigations and exposures, revealing the most astounding raids upon the public domain, naturally provoked furious assaults from those whose holdings were thus threatened. Charges were soon filed before the Public Land Committee of the Senate protesting against his confirmation. Under a rule of the Senate he was not allowed to know the names of his assailants, but a list of the charges was sent him, which he duly answered in their order.²

At the end of nine months Julian had accomplished more work in the examination of Spanish grants than had been done by his predecessors in any five-year period. His first annual report, which was largely incorporated in that of the General Land Office, showed an aggregate of seven or eight million acres of the public lands which had been appropriated by private individuals under invalid grants or fraudulent surveys. These investigations largely involved Thomas B.

2. "A formidable grist of charges has been filed against me in the land committee by persons whose names I am not allowed to know, and I am thus put on trial as if the question were an open and debatable one whether I am a rascal or an honest man." Julian's *Journal*, May 5, 1886.

Catron,³ Stephen B. Elkins,⁴ and other prominent men, and the fight against his confirmation which had not yet been made a matter of record, waxed hotter. However the day before the close of the Forty-ninth Congress, nearly two years after his first appointment, he was confirmed by a unanimous vote of the Senate. It is but justice to state that this action was hastened by the efforts of General Benjamin Harrison, then a Senator from Indiana, to whom Julian wrote after fruitless appeals to Democratic friends.

In the meantime, besides a great deal of reading he had written an article at the request of Allen Thorndike Rice which appeared in a volume of *Lincoln Reminiscences*,⁵ one for the *Cincinnati Graphic*⁶ on the Free Soil Campaigns of 1848 and 1852, and the article on "Land Stealing in New Mexico" already mentioned. This last attracted wide attention and embodied perhaps the clearest exposition of the subject of Territorial land frauds that had ever been made. It called forth from Stephen W. Dorsey⁷ an abusive reply in the Octo-

3. Born Oct. 6, 1840, in Missouri. Elected U. S. Senator on the admission of New Mexico to statehood in 1912. Died May 15, 1921.

4. Born Sept. 26, 1811, in Ohio. Secretary of War in Harrison's administration. U. S. Senator from West Virginia 1905 till his death in 1911.

5. *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, by Distinguished Men of His Time, North American Publishing Company, 1888.

6. June 5, 1886.

7. Born Feb. 28, 1842, in Vermont, enlisted in Union Army from Ohio, was elected U. S. Senator from Arkansas in 1873, managed Republican national campaigns in 1876 and 1880, was indicted for Star Route frauds in 1881, died Mar. 20, 1916.

ber issue of the *North American*, to which Julian made a brief rejoinder in the December number.

Julian was well aware that the people of New Mexico without regard to party were anxious for a final adjustment of all land grant claims, such adjustment being absolutely essential to the Territory's further settlement and development. He knew too that the work he had been doing in the re-examination and re-survey of old land grants had been misrepresented by those who had profited by fraudulent claims and surveys and made to appear as a hindrance to immigration and to the consequent advance towards Statehood. He sympathized entirely with the ambition of honest citizens in this matter, and he realized that the lack of interest on the part of Congress as manifested by its extreme slowness in disposing of grant cases abundantly proved that some other method of settlement must be found. But he stoutly objected to the plan that for some time had been urged providing for a Commission to settle such claims. Such a Commission had been in operation in California for thirty-six years with the result that a great many cases of controverted titles and surveys were still pending. This action, he insisted, would by no means expedite the end in view. Neither would their reference to the local courts, which were already overcrowded with business and were besides, more or less liable to be reached by sinister influences such as had already been too much in evidence.

The plan proposed by Julian, which had the emphatic endorsement of Secretary Lamar, was to refer all land grant claims to the Secretary of the Interior for final adjudication. These cases were already on file in the General Land Office, including duly certified copies of the papers in each case, the evidence, both documentary and oral, together with the reports of the Surveyors General and the supplementary reports lately submitted. They involved questions of law and fact with which the officials of that office were familiar. Julian believed that by this method two or three years would see all these matters settled and out of the way. In his second annual report he presented his plan with his customary distinctness and force, while he also urged it by means of editorials that appeared in various New Mexican papers and in letters to members of Congress. Although he did not succeed in securing the endorsement of his proposal by that body, he defeated temporarily at least what he considered mischievous projects that had the energetic support of grant claimants.

After completing his third annual report as Surveyor General he prepared a speech in behalf of President Cleveland's re-election, which he sent home to be read and published. This was the first presidential campaign since 1840 in which he had not taken an active part. He did not relish the idea of being shelved in an out-of-the-way quarter pending so important a contest, for his admira-

tion of Cleveland had steadily grown. He especially approved of his vetoes, notably that of the Dependent Pension Bill, and his demand for a reform of the tariff, which boldly translated that issue from the domain of mere policy and pettifoggery to the dignity and decency of manly discussion.

Cleveland's defeat seemed to Julian little short of a calamity, and to adjust himself so as to find some measure of relief in philosophizing about it was the work of time. It was reassuring to find that the tariff was not really responsible for the result. "He was defeated by local squabbles in New York City and the opposition of the subterranean and saloon element in the Democratic party which was drawn to the support of Harrison by the power of money. The election of the latter under such circumstances can not fail to have its compensations. The wholesale bribery of voters will lead to the correction of this evil by legislation,⁸ while the battle for tariff reform will be renewed and repeated in 1892. I ought to add, as a pleasant feature of this campaign, that the leading old Abolitionists who survive and the children of those who have died, were among the supporters of Cleveland. This was notably true in Massachusetts, where the Adams family, Col. Higginson, Samuel E. Sewall, Dr. Bowditch, the sons

8. For an account of Indiana election frauds, especially Dudley and the "blocks of five", see *Life of Walter Q. Gresham* by Matilda Gresham, p. 604 et seq.

of Garrison and others were active and zealous in the cause."⁹

During the campaign Julian had subscribed for the Boston *Daily Herald*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Puck*, and the St. Louis *Republic*, which with the Indianapolis *Journal* and *Sentinel* (both daily) and the New York *Nation*, his regular fare, kept him abreast of the political news. He was never idle, for aside from the necessary office work, including some sixty carefully prepared "opinions" in regard to old land grants, he was nearly always engaged on some literary task. His article entitled "A Search After Truth",¹⁰ appeared in the January (1888) number of the *Unitarian Review*, calling forth a number of letters from friends and some from strangers commending his frankness and sincerity and thanking him for having helped them over difficult places. In September following, "Webster and Blaine—Historic Justice" was printed in the *Magazine of Western History*, and in January, 1889, he decided to issue another volume of speeches which appeared later in the same year, his daughter being entrusted with the task of arranging and editing.¹¹ An article entitled "The Redemption of a Territory" in the *Magazine of Western History* for July of this year he called his "last will and testament to New Mexico." In

9. Julian's *Journal*, Nov. 25, 1888.

10. Referred to in Chap. I as an account of his investigations along religious and theological lines.

11. *Later Speeches*, by George W. Julian. Carlton & Hollenbeck, 1889.

this article he insisted that the great need of the Territory was "a social inundation akin to that which rescued California from the mongrel races and variegated barbarism that threatened to submerge American civilization on the Pacific slope forty years ago." The uncertainty of land titles, he asserted, was the chief reason for the halting progress of that important and picturesque region, and he again urged his plan for the settlement of these titles. He concluded with an attractive picture of New Mexico regenerated and presently admitted to statehood.

The completion of his fourth annual report was soon followed by President Harrison's appointment of his successor, and immediately after the transfer of the office he left Santa Fe, pleased with the good he believed he had accomplished or set on foot, full of thankfulness that his life had been prolonged so far beyond his expectations, and inexpressibly glad that he was going to spend his last days at home.

During his incumbency of the Surveyor General's office he had visited Indianapolis each May on a month's leave of absence, so that he had kept in touch with local affairs and with friends, and he immediately plunged into reading more eagerly than ever before, taking up in rapid succession Shepard's *Life of Martin Van Buren*, Fiske's *Critical Period in American History*, Tyler's *Life of Patrick Henry*, Henry Adams' *Life of John Randolph* and the sixth volume of Von Holst's

Constitutional History of the United States. Then came the four volumes of *Garrison's Life* by his children, the *Life of James G. Birney* by his son, *Emerson In Concord*, the *Journal Of Marie Bashkirtseff* and *Bart Ridgely* by A. G. Riddle. This last, a story of pioneer life on the Western Reserve in northern Ohio, must have been undertaken as a sort of unconscious preparation for his next important task, the *Life of Joshua R. Giddings*.

His seventy-third birthday was celebrated by a dinner to which he summoned a number of old friends from the 'Burnt District,' and the summer of 1890 was spent chiefly at the Giddings home in Jefferson, Ohio, where he overhauled the voluminous correspondence of Giddings, conversed with his two surviving sons, read and re-read his *Speeches*, his *Exiles of Florida*, his *History of the Rebellion*, his *Pacificus Papers*, diaries and four or five large political scrap-books. He soon discovered that the undertaking would be more laborious than he had expected, and that patient study and careful thought would be required in bringing order out of such a chaos of material. On August 26th he began the first draft of the work,¹² and for awhile was able to write two chapters per month, but this was presently found to be too taxing and he was obliged to proceed more deliberately. He completed the work early in June,

12. *Life of Joshua R. Giddings*, A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, 1892.

1891, and devoted the summer to revising. Then came copying, awaiting the judgment of the publisher, proof-reading, and it was not until April 10, 1892, that the volume was actually in his hands. He had greatly enjoyed the task, which was a sort of labor of love. "I am sure it is what Father Giddings would have been glad to have me do, and that it would have been particularly well pleasing to his daughter Laura, who used to urge me to undertake it."¹³ A. C. McClurg & Co. of Chicago were the publishers, and it was printed by those masters of their craft, John Wilson and Son of Cambridge, Mass., so that the mechanical execution was well nigh perfect. Besides the several proof readings at home and at Cambridge, he had the valuable help of Edward L. Pierce, the biographer of Sumner, who was also most kind in supplying documents and facts.

Pending the appearance of the *Life of Giddings* he was busy reading, and was also increasingly interested in obituary literature. A little before this he had jotted down on a fly leaf of his *Congressional Dictionary* the names of the survivors of the Thirty-first Congress (1849-1851), and as the newspapers announced each demise he drew his pencil sadly through the name. About this time his brother Isaac, living in Texas, sent him the following sonnet:—

13. Julian's *Journal*, May 8, 1892.

TO G. W. J.

"Fear nothing, and hope all things, as the right
Alone may do securely."

Lowell.

"Brother beloved and true!—nor mine alone—
Brother of all true spirits everywhere!
Long thy co-laborer in my humbler sphere,
To me how well thy steadfast soul is known!
Lo, 'Truth is mighty', and all yet must own—
Save owl-like Prejudice and Ignorance,
Or else discomfited Malevolence—
The brave and martyr spirit thou hast shown.
Thou livest to see the dawning of that day;
After the struggle of thy early life,
Thy manhood's sorrows, conflicts, toils and strife—
In service of thy fellow men grown gray—
Thou sharest the rest and peace so nobly won,
Serenely gazing on thy westering sun."¹⁴

The *Life of Giddings* was fully and handsomely reviewed in all the leading newspapers of the country.¹⁵

14. Julian's *Journal*, Nov. 21, 1891.

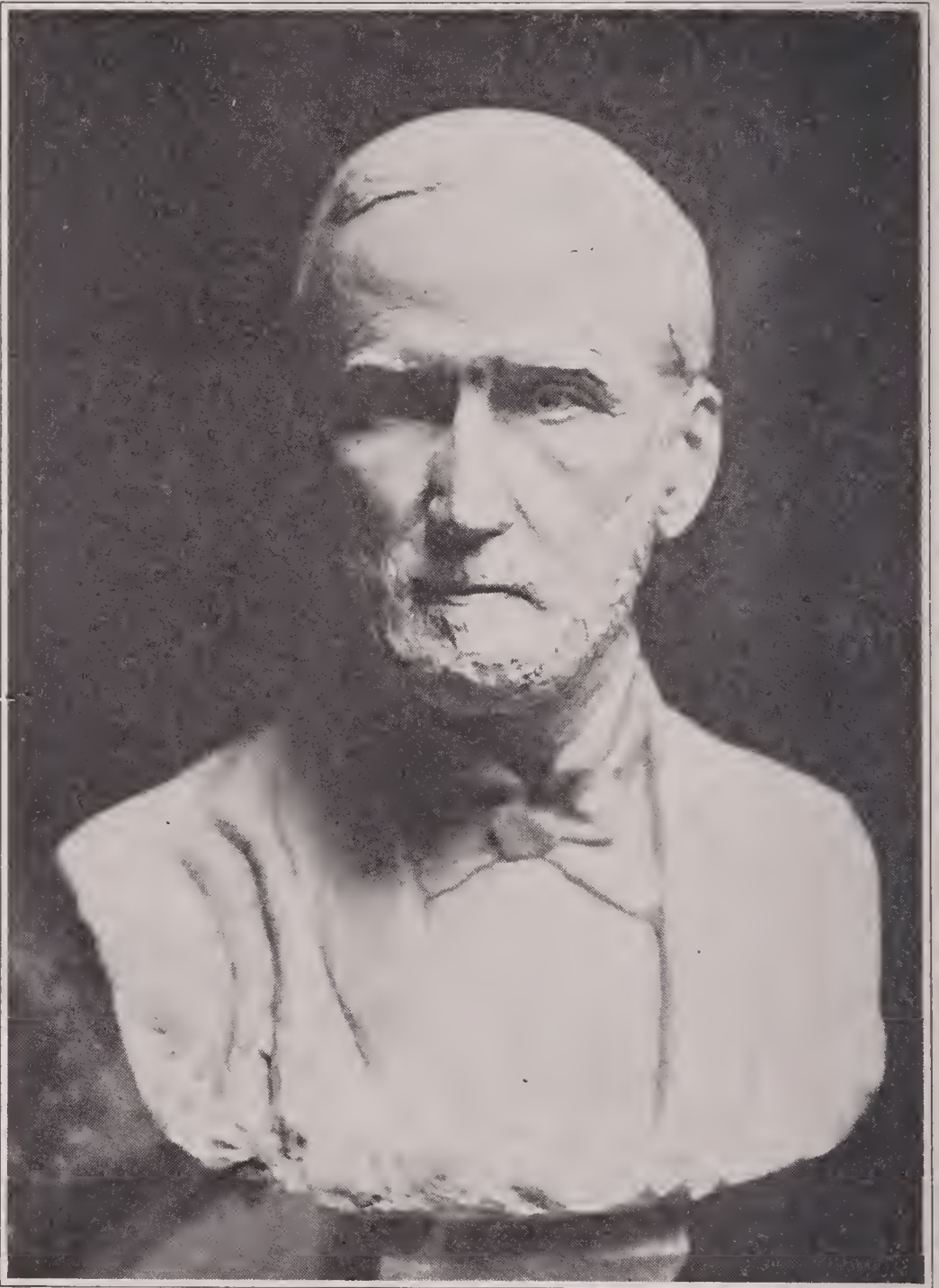
15. One of the best, although by no means the most flattering, notices was that of the *New York Nation*, which said among other things:—"Now that Mr. Julian has written the *Life* of his father-in-law we may congratulate ourselves that he waited till he was seventy-five years old; for it so happens that there is a ripeness in his judgment which he could not have had before, and that he sees the events and persons of his scene in a perspective which assigns them their relative importance. . . . It is written with a double modesty—that proper to the author and that proper to the man of whom he writes. His nearness to Giddings as his son-in-law, and his own part in the scenes which he describes would have excused occasional lapses into a more subjective manner, but he has chosen to efface himself as far as possible."

Julian's speech in the campaign of 1892 on "The Civil Service Promises and Performances of General Harrison" was widely circulated in newspapers, and the National Democratic Committee published a pamphlet edition of two hundred thousand copies.¹⁶ It was as thorough, logical and convincing as any effort of his life, but his physical strength did not warrant further participation on the stump. He rejoiced heartily in Cleveland's success, and predicted that the Republicans were permanently snowed under "unless Democratic stupidity should come to their rescue",¹⁷ a prediction that was literally fulfilled four years later.

A brief visit to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago the following year called forth a sigh that he had not strength to remain longer. Although he was obliged to husband his physical resources increasingly from this time till the end of his life he by no means abandoned active participation in such enterprises as he was able for. Annual visits to Jefferson, Ohio, or to some northern lake resort, addresses before clubs in and about Indianapolis, book reviews for the *Chicago Dial*, the *New York Nation* and other pe-

16. Julian's *Journal*, Nov. 15, 1892. Of this speech the Springfield *Republican* said on Oct. 23, 1892: "Mr. Julian has been in the forefront of reforms, and has sacrificed his personal interests in keeping there. He is not one whose opinions are to be scouted. Mr. Julian's review of President Harrison's record as to civil service reform is not so rigorously cold as that of W. D. Foulke, recently delivered in Boston, but it is even more conclusive."

17. Julian's *Journal*, Nov. 15, 1892.



Julian at the age of seventy-seven. Bust made by Sidney
H. Morse.

riodicals, articles for the *Century*, the *North American*, and the *Arena*, trips to the Old Settlers' reunions in Centerville and Yearly Meetings in Richmond, and constant reading of new books, especially historical works, occupied his time pleasantly and profitably. The last four winters he had to wrestle with grippe or pneumonia, each attack reducing his vitality, but he manifested a certain pugnacity in facing distressing conditions that robbed them of monotony at least and lent a sort of color to life. His birthday was always the occasion for a general neighborhood rally, for he always received informally on May 5th, the weather usually conspiring with his friends to render the affair pleasantly memorable. The fact that men like James Ford Rhodes, James A. Woodburn, Theodore Clark Smith and other students came to talk over with him the past was a source of satisfaction, and sundry visits, such as those from Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts, the Rev. John G. Fee and wife of Kentucky, and his brother Isaac from Texas, were soul restoring. The re-reading of Dante (1897) following the perusal of Professor William T. Harris' *Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divine Comedy*, and also of Milton's works, was a genuine delight, recalling the eagerness of youthful quests in the domain of letters, but with the added richness of mature reflection. His zest for the finer things of life never diminished.

Of course the presidential campaign of 1896

was of absorbing interest, and he was an enthusiastic attendant at one of the sessions of the convention of Gold Standard Democrats that met in Indianapolis and nominated Palmer and Buckner for President and Vice-President. A sound money man from the beginning, he regarded the crisis as a serious one, and longed to enter actively into the struggle. He prepared a speech which was given before the Sound Money League at Indianapolis on October 16th, but he was not able to complete its delivery and the concluding paragraphs were read by another. It was a careful review of the financial situation, in which he traced the various monetary disorders of the country to the legal tender acts of 1862 and 1863. "These acts", said he, "gave birth to the delusion that under the power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, Congress could create money, although the power to do this belongs exclusively to the Almighty. The constitutionality of these acts was disputed I believe by all the Democrats in Congress and by the ablest Republican members, while outside of Congress the statesmen and financiers who were most competent to give an opinion generally held the same views. The plea of military necessity was by no means universally accepted, and the better opinion was then as it is today that through the legitimate agencies of taxation and loans the rebellion could have been suppressed and at an immense saving of money."¹⁸

18. In this connection an entry in his *Journal* of December 20, 1891, is significant: "Have just read the volume of "Essays" by Henry

He reviewed the decision of the Supreme Court speaking through Chief Justice Chase on November 27, 1869, to the effect that Congress had no power under the Constitution to make treasury notes a legal tender in the payment of debts contracted before the passage of the act making such notes a legal tender, told of the unpopularity of this decision and of its reversal by a court especially packed for the purpose, "thus making the Supreme Court of the United States the foot-ball of party politics", and of the results of the latter action, culminating in "the present Democratic-Populist craze with Bryan at its head". He then took up the tariff question showing how both parties had trifled with it until Cleveland stripped it of its verbiage and, counter to the advice of party friends, brought it before the people for an intelligent decision. "They warned him that it would defeat his re-election the following year, and he had the best of reasons for believing them, but he had deliberately formed his opinion on the question of duty irrespective of any personal consequences, and his message duly appeared. It did defeat his re-election, after a nomination by

Adams and his brother Charles Francis. The chapters on the New York Gold Conspiracy and the Legal Tender Act possess a fascinating interest. The picture given of the financial ignorance of the men who passed that Act is startling, and I should dislike exceedingly to have such a personal overhauling as is given to Thaddeus Stevens and E. G. Spaulding. I am ashamed to confess that I mustered in this company, and that at that time I could honestly plead *ignoramus*. The wonder is that the nation was able to pull through, for the task of crushing the rebellion must have been enormously aggravated by this financial blundering."

acclamation, but in 1892 the tidal wave which his message had created gave him a triumphant victory on the issue as he had defined it. It was not his fault that 'the livery of Democratic reform' was afterwards 'stolen and worn in the service of Republican protection'. It was not his fault that men in his own party betrayed the cause and brought sorrow and humiliation to its friends. . . . He stood magnificently by his colors while the followers of Mr. Bryan, anxious to placate Mr. Teller and the silver Republicans, have omitted the word 'only' from the tariff resolution of the Chicago platform and thus remanded the question to the policy of equivocation and evasion against which Mr. Cleveland had successfully battled." He praised Cleveland's record on the Civil Service, paternalism, centralization and State Rights, and showed that he had been inflexibly true to the principles of genuine Democracy. He confessed himself unable to account for the present attitude of the Democratic party. It was not a case of sudden conversion but of sudden degeneration. And he closed with a tribute to the bolters of the world, whether in church or state. "They have been the path-finders of truth and the torch-bearers of progress and reform. No votes are ever lost but those which are cast for pernicious principles and for candidates who are unworthy to receive them; and I commend this saving truth to the misguided men who have turned their backs upon the timehonored doctrines

of Democracy and are now following after strange gods.”¹⁹

Many letters came from friends commending this his last public speech, among the most prized being one from Grover Cleveland, written as was his custom with his own hand, in which he said: “I cannot but believe that such expositions of true democracy will have the effect of calling vast multitudes of our party back to the support of genuine democratic principles.”²⁰

In the *Arena* for February, 1898, appeared a further analysis of the financial situation from Julian’s pen under the title, “Our party Leaders and the Finances”,²¹ followed by a reply by John Clark Ridpath. Julian showed the equally vulnerable records of the two leading parties on the money question and commended the plan of a non-partisan monetary conference which should devise and recommend to Congress a working theory of reform. Some of the letters that came to him in the weeks immediately following were curiosi-

19. The *Indianapolis News*, Oct. 16, 1896. On Oct. 20th Julian recorded in his *Journal*: “Bryan’s campaign is unprecedented in the numbers who flock to hear him and in the unbounded enthusiasm of his followers. . . . If he can succeed, with all the business interests of the country against him solidly, and nearly all the newspapers, and all the colleges and educational influences, it can only be accounted for on the theory of a tremendous retrogression in the work of civilization, which would be at war with the philosophy of evolution and irreconcilable with the belief in a Divine Providence. I am therefore perfectly convinced that no such calamity is in store for us.”

20. *Julian Letters*; dated Washington, Oct. 23, 1896.

21. This had been sent to the *Arena* six months before (Julian’s *Journal*, July 24, 1897), the tardiness of its appearance not being explained.

ties. "One old anti-slavery friend in Fountain City writes me that he would not have been more astounded and grieved if Garrison and Phillips and Lucretia Mott had undertaken to re-establish slavery after its overthrow. This is a specimen letter. It seems that I am never to get through shocking and grieving old friends. But as to my article, I am entirely satisfied with its soundness, and these letters convince me that I acted wisely in publishing it."²²

Another subject that appealed to him quite as strongly as currency reform during the closing months of his life was the policy of Imperialism. He deplored the Spanish-American War, but earnestly hoped that our country would emerge from it without being drawn into "the madness of territorial expansion and national land-stealing."²³ He thought that the policy of the government in seeking extension of authority over tropical islands by conquest involved more serious consequences than did the problem of our Civil War.²⁴ He began the preparation of a paper on "The Perplexities of Imperialism", but before its completion the press so teemed with articles along this line that he laid it aside. His last finished task was a review of George C. Gorham's *Life of Edwin M. Stanton* which appeared in the *Dial* of July 16, 1899. That having been dispatched, he at once took up the *Life of Thaddeus Stevens*

22. Julian's *Journal*, Mar. 4, 1898.

23. *Ibid.* July 19, 1898.

24. *Ibid.* Feb. 25, 1899.

by Samuel McCall on a review of which he was engaged when death intervened. His book reviews were not mere appreciations or summaries of the volumes considered, couched in excellent English. They were critical examinations, possessing unique importance and value from the fact that he had been closely associated with the men and events considered.²⁵

Julian was about the house as usual on Wednesday, July 5th, although very feeble. He even took up his papers preparatory to dictating to his amanuensis, but was persuaded to lay them aside. He did not leave his bed the next day, and on Friday, July 7, 1899, at a few minutes before eleven o'clock in the forenoon he peacefully closed his eyes, his age being eighty-two years, two months and two days.

After a long, busy and fruitful day the sunset was unclouded. One of the saddest spectacles, he thought, was that of an aged person whose work was finished, lingering on and longing for release. In 1890 his old Free Soil associate,

25. The following paragraph from his *Journal* under date of May 6, 1897, shows his attitude towards such work: "I have been reading carefully a book entitled *The Middle Period of American History* by Prof. John W. Burgess of Columbia University, and in an article which has just appeared in the *Dial* I have sharply criticised its aspersions of the anti-slavery cause and its leaders, and its inexcusable mis-statements of fact. This sort of work seems to have fallen to my lot of late years, as shown in my defense of Charles Osborn as an anti-slavery pioneer, my paper on Thomas Morris, another neglected leader, and my defense of Charles Sumner against the wanton attacks of Hamilton Fish, J. C. Bancroft-Davis, and Adam Badeau. History must not be allowed to bear false witness respecting the great conflict, and to this end no vigilance should be spared in guarding the truth."

Stephen S. Harding, then eighty-three and blind for years, wrote him a pathetic letter which closed as follows: "When you hear of my demise, which will be before long, strike hands with some old friend and thank God it is all over!"²⁶ So it was cause for thankfulness that in his own case the summons came in the midst of activity and congenial surroundings, when life, though complete, had not lost its relish.

At the simple funeral services three days later Frederick E. Dewhurst, the pastor of Plymouth Church and a dear friend, spoke fittingly of his life and character, and said in part:

"Mr. Julian belonged to a type which has a splendid heritage in the history of our human race. It is a type which reaches at least as far into the past as the line of Hebrew prophets, those men who by better right should have been named the statesmen of God. The history of no nation can be written which does not take due account of this stern and incorruptible type. Its is the idealism which does not brook compromise, the idealism which does not make a comfortable yoke-fellow for that other and necessary type of statesmanship, the opportunist. The idealism of which Mr. Julian has been the consistent and unbending example is that which men call impracticable; but when we get far enough away from that age to see it in perspective do we not see that

26. Dated "Milan, Ind., Sept. 14, 1890." *Julian Letters*. Harding's death occurred Feb. 12, 1891.

it is these men who if they could not open the door that looked out upon the street, have opened the window in the dome which gives us the view of the pole-star by which we shape our course? It is the opportunist who at a happy crisis in affairs takes the pen in hand and writes the word that binds or looses. It is the idealist with his stern sense of radical and absolute justice who creates the language which it is possible for the pen to write. The idealist is not always right: far from it. No finite and fallible human being is. But the idealists of the type to which the Isaiahs, the Cromwells and Miltons, the Garrisons and Sumners and Julians belonged spelled the RIGHT in blazing letters of light, every one of which was a capital; and the word was so large and so luminous that it could not always fit the immediate occasion, the temporary possibility. But after all, in the great verdicts of history, who are life's victors? Are they not they

‘Who have held to their faith unseduced by the prize that the world holds on high;
And have dared for a high cause to suffer, resist, fight,—if need be to die?’²⁷

27. *Indianapolis News*, July 10, 1899.

CHAPTER XVII

Newspaper Estimates—Personal Traits

Of the hundreds of notices of Julian's death that appeared in the newspapers immediately following the event the great majority bore headings indicating his anti-slavery career, such as "Noted Abolitionist Dead", "Julian the Abolitionist Gone", "Death of Famous Abolitionist", thus confirming in a way his own view that the significance of his life lay in his warfare against the institution of slavery. Reference was made in more than one of these notices to the fact that had his death occurred a half century earlier it would have occasioned far more comment, as he had long survived almost every one of the contemporaries of his middle life as well as the settlement of the question to which he had devoted those years which are sometimes mistakenly called a man's best years.¹

Editorial comments following the obituary notices were uniformly favorable, even the *Indianapolis Journal*, Governor Morton's former organ,

1. An incident connected with his last "farewell visit" to the old Burnt District a few years before his death is worth relating here. In one of his former political strongholds a farmer joined the group of which he was the center and on learning who he was exclaimed, "Why, I thought you had died long ago!" In reporting this, Julian said it almost seemed as if the man's voice bore a tone of disappointment, making him feel for the moment that perhaps it was an impertinence to have lingered thus beyond reasonable expectations.

crediting him with statesmanship and with having been one of the founders and leaders of the Republican party, and concluding:

“He was an untiring worker, and though entirely lacking in brilliant or attractive qualities, he was a man of decided ability and made his mark during a turbulent and formative period of our history. He was a forcible speaker and a clear and strong writer on political topics.”²

It is a little significant that the Republican press uniformly emphasized his anti-slavery efforts, while the Democratic organs laid greater stress on his labors in connection with Public Land matters. The Indianapolis *Sentinel* declared:

“If a time shall come when a discriminating history of the past half century in Indiana shall be written it will probably pronounce George W. Julian the foremost statesman that Indiana has produced. This will appear an untenable proposition to those who are accustomed to measure statesmanship by political success, but when his life work is studied and the success he attained in securing the adoption of measures and principles is considered, no Indiana man has such a record. He was intensely radical, so much so that he never seemed to count the cost of any course he took, but appeared to contemporaries wholly destitute of political sagacity. Yet his judgments as to the conclusions the people would ultimately reach

2. Indianapolis *Journal*, July 8, 1899.

were almost unerring in so many important cases that he seems, on looking back, like a political prophet. He was so independent that the political success he attained was almost marvellous. He took positions on the various political questions—usually extreme positions—and adhered to them with a firmness that knew no compromise for political advantage, no conciliation to personal prejudices even of his friends, no bending to the decrees of party. . . . His greatest achievements were in establishing our land policy. He helped frame the original Homestead bill of 1862, and reported amendments and extensions of it in 1864 and 1866. . . . He also made the fight for the disposal of mineral lands in fee, which has since been adopted. Obscured for a period by political reverses, he can never lose his standing among the great men of his native State, and time will give to him the justice that was denied him in his life.”³

The estimate of the Indianapolis *News* was as follows:

“In the death of George W. Julian Indiana loses one of its most picturesque characters and society one of its finest forces. His great and valuable work however was done in an era that belongs to history—in the anti-slavery agitation and the days of the war. Intensely radical, he was naturally no politician, and hence, as a result of temperament perhaps, he was deprived of a large

3. Indianapolis *Sentinel*, July 8, 1899.

measure of usefulness that his lofty character and his splendid intellect should have made for him. His prescience was remarkable, his conclusions unerring.

“Julian and Morton were early enemies and remained consistently so to the end. History looking at the lives of them both will probably say that Morton was more practical, and that Julian showed the finer ideal, the purer purpose, the cleaner conception. Mr. Julian, with his fine nature, impatient of obstruction, conscious of the loftiness of his desires, dwelling ever in scorn of all that was base or time-serving, found it difficult to work as all must work who get things done in this world. Ever far ahead of his day, working with indefatigable ardor, he yet had not learned ‘to labor and to wait’. How much indeed men like him, who constitute the driving force of any great movement, contribute to that movement, cannot be said. There is a time at every step of advance when there must come a positive propulsion, or there will be no advance. Mr. Julian furnished this at every stage of his career; and how much he contributed to the sum of things can only be conjectured.

“He must be classed among doctrinaires rather than statesmen. But by his eloquence of speech and his forceful writing he served powerfully the causes he championed. The strongest impression Mr. Julian has left is, perhaps, as an example for the austere beauty and purity of his personal

character, and for uncompromising loyalty to truth as he saw it.”⁴

The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* called Julian “the last of Freedom’s Old Guard” and cited the case of Indiana with its large population from Virginia, Kentucky and other slave States as an excellent illustration of the power of tradition, association and heredity in political and social life. “Necessarily the West had far more of this element than any of the Eastern States. The obstacles which freedom encountered here were much greater than those in New England and its near neighbors. The credit due to the workers in the West who brought their States around to the cause of human enfranchisement was higher than that which their brethren in the Northeast could legitimately claim. One of the ablest and most active of these champions of freedom, and the last survivor of all of them, who won prominence was George W. Julian.”⁵

“The men of his class and type are nearly all gone,” said the *Denver Republican*. “They belonged to an era which has passed into history, and they are going with it. Julian will not occupy so conspicuous a place in the history of that time as some others who played their parts when he played his, but he will be remembered, and it will be said of him that all his work was well and honorably done.”⁶

4. Indianapolis *News*, July 8, 1899.

5. Julian *Scrap Book*. Date not given.

6. *Ibid*.

The Springfield *Republican* said that he was “always doing in Congress wise and Quixotic things, such as pushing forward woman suffrage, which he had advocated since 1847 . . . and which in 1868 he proposed to incorporate into an amendment to the Constitution. He was strenuous in reconstruction times for the full citizen’s rights for the negro; he furthered the homestead policy and was against the vast grants to corporations which were made to the privation of the people. In his later years he grew by no means more content with the decadent party which had had the devotion of his prime. . . . Julian was a vigorous and effective servant of the people in his day, and if he were somewhat bitter in his later years there could be small wonder at that when one considers that everything is going just as he would not have it go,—to the interest of the few and the injury of the many.”⁷

The Boston *Herald* after a brief review of his political career, referred to *Political Recollections* and the *Life of Giddings*, and continued:

“Mr. Julian proved himself to be as clever with his pen in these productions as he had been effective in speech; but his books brought him little of the income that he needed in his advanced age. He wrote some for the magazines also, the *Century* having him on its list of contributors. He sent occasional articles to the newspapers, one of which he furnished to the *Herald* some three

7. Springfield *Republican*, July 8, 1899.

years ago. He was an able, an earnest, and a sincere man, who had deserved well of his fellow citizens and of his country; but his life had been largely in politics, and he who relies upon politicians for gratitude can only expect to be disappointed. The men who bear the heat and the burden of the day of small things in parties are not often those who reap the rewards that come in the time of great ones.”⁸

Unity, the organ of the more radical wing of Unitarianism, whose editor, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, was a personal friend, ranked him with Trumbull, Chase, and Sumner, and continued: “In 1872 Lydia Maria Child, one of the scribes of the anti-slavery movement, wrote his life and compiled his speeches, for then the life seemed rounded out. But Mr. Julian stayed on earth twenty-seven years longer to show what vitality there is in conscience, what endurance there is in an active mind.”⁹

Of course the *Woman's Journal*, edited by Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry B. Blackwell, gave him due meed of praise for having sought to incorporate in the national scheme of reconstruction a Sixteenth Constitutional amendment abolishing sex as a qualification for voting. “But by the few surviving pioneer suffragists” said the *Journal*, “he is best beloved for his much earlier championship of woman's equality. Seventeen

8. Boston *Herald*, July 10, 1899.

9. *Unity*, July 20, 1899.

years before, in 1852, he took an active part in woman's rights conventions in Indiana and Ohio. . . . We shall never forget his earnest and impressive presence in those early meetings."¹⁰

The New York *Nation* called Julian "perhaps the most conspicuous product of that Quaker migration from the South, particularly from North Carolina, which was caused by aversion to slavery, and which had for one result the implanting of anti-slavery convictions in the new-made States of Ohio and Indiana. We are in danger of overlooking the honorable singularity of such a political career as this, partly because a long life cannot be grasped as a whole by the common memory, but partly because of the failure of large numbers of leading Republicans of the storm-and-stress period not only to withstand, but to recognize and confess, that corrupt tendency which has brought us to our present state of well-nigh hopeless passivity and impotence."¹¹

The foregoing excerpts fairly epitomize the verdict pronounced by the newspaper press of the country on the veteran who had just laid down life's burden. What he himself would have thought could he have read his own obituaries and the various tributes, one can only conjecture. It is probable that he would not have been greatly surprised and certainly not at all disturbed even by the charge of "doctrinaire". He knew him-

10. *The Woman's Journal*, July 15, 1899.

11. *The Nation*, July 27, 1899.

self as well perhaps as it is given to mortal man to know that elusive being with whom he is most closely associated; and if, as the day darkened around him, there lingered any recollection of suffering and pain such as all adventurers after truth and freedom are called upon to bear, it was undoubtedly mingled with the happy consciousness of having won that which he valued most.

Life was truly a boon to Julian, increasing in value with the years. It was moreover an unspeakably momentous fact, an experience not to be heedlessly passed through, but a privilege into which should be crowded as much of useful achievement as possible. It was not mere existence that he loved. As has abundantly appeared in the foregoing pages, activity was his delight, and he fretted under enforced idleness. Although physical infirmities necessitated his lying down four hours each day for the last twenty years at least, he always had a book or a magazine beside him with his glasses. He dreaded unspeakably the loss of his faculties, and the words of John Quincy Adams about his "shaking hand, darkening eye and drowsy brain" possessed a fearful significance for him. The fact that some of the members of his family had in extreme age been afflicted with what is known as softening of the brain brought home to him the possibility of a similar fate, and with characteristic energy he set

himself to ward it off. He was convinced that he could at least hinder the ravages of time by keeping his mind employed, and he was a severe task-master to himself. It is probable that the final catastrophe was precipitated by the continuous strain, during excessively warm weather, occasioned in the preparation of a book review. This meant double work for the brain grown sluggish with age and supported by an increasingly feeble body.

It was not a part of his philosophy to ignore evil and unfortunate circumstances, but rather to face them in all their might and ugliness and then set to work to overcome them. Among the lines that he repeated oftenest were these from Browning's *Easter Day*:

“And so I live, you see,
Go through the world, try, prove, reject,
Prefer, still striving to effect
My warfare; happy that I can
Be crossed and thwarted as a man,
Not left in God's contempt apart,
With ghastly smooth life, dead at heart,
Tame in earth's paddock as her prize.”

When attacked by grippe or other malady that necessitated his keeping his room upstairs he would do so with rather bad grace at first, for he delighted to be down among his books, where he could receive callers and witness the passing show; but presently, having become adjusted to the situation, he would set himself to pointing out

its pleasant features—the east and south windows, the open fire, the pictures on the walls, pictures of the Capitol, of the members of the Thirty-ninth Congress in a group, of Horace Greeley, John Bright, Gerrit Smith and others. Sunshine and birds were perpetual delights, and the fleeting glory of the dawn was worth a great effort to behold. The branches of the maples as they swayed to and fro outside his window spoke a language sweet and quieting, and the sight of a storm fascinated him. The twilight hour was a precious time: he liked then to have a loved one beside him, by the fire in winter and under the trees in summer, and to sit in silent meditation, or repeating poetry, or talking of the day's doings or the morrow's plans. Always a great walker, he prided himself on his three miles a day at eighty, and his figure was a familiar one in all parts of the village. But although "the old perfections of the earth" appealed to him more and more with the years, they never took the place of human society. "What should we do without people?" he murmured, gazing out at neighbors passing by on the day before he laid him down for the last time. Unfailing courage, and ever fresh enjoyment of nature and of human relationships were among his most pronounced characteristics. Children made friends with him at once, and he possessed the art of entertaining them without effort. He had a fund of bear stories, and there was a favorite tale about Captain Scott and the Coons. Gen-

eral Putnam and the Wolf was another thrilling recital, in which there was more or less of dramatic accessory.

Whatever he did he put his whole heart into. He worked impetuously and indefatigably, and he played as he worked. In his youth he had enjoyed the game of town ball, but he probably never witnessed a game of modern baseball. Croquet was a favorite in later life, when more violent activity would have been undesirable. He liked whist and euchre, dominoes and checkers. But it was largely the zest and abandon with which he entered into such sports that made him an interesting partner. This it was that rendered his society always engaging,—the enthusiasm he felt for people and things, coupled with an unconscious air of wisdom, as of one having an unusually wide horizon.

His opinions were uttered with a freedom and spontaneity that were refreshing, and yet with a seriousness and tone of authority that were the fruit of much thought and long experience. It was his friend, Miss Catherine Merrill, for fifty years a teacher of English, who said that he spoke in such finished sentences that they had the quality of literature.

In all his talk there was a deep religious vein, a spirit of faith in the Eternal Goodness, that was tonic in effect. But he was utterly undogmatic. He believed in the simple humanity of Jesus and in the renovating and ever uplifting power of His

life and teachings in raising the world to higher and higher conditions. The life and sufferings of the Nazarene were habitually in his thoughts, and he was often heard repeating to himself as he lay on his couch those words of Lydia Maria Child beginning, "I thank Thee, O Heavenly Father, for all the messengers Thou hast sent to man; but above all I thank Thee for this, Thy beloved son!" The story of the crucifixion always brought tears to his eyes, and he thought the most touching and terrible passage in all literature was the sentence, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

Reverence was a quality always manifest,—reverence for God, and Truth, and Duty. He was a hero worshipper too, and certain names were always spoken with tender regard and a glow of pride. Among these were Plato, Dante, Bruno, Milton, Mazzini. He had numerous idols among the men of later times too. Over the mantel in his library hung portraits of William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson,—saint, reformer and seer. It was not his privilege to have known John Quincy Adams, the latter having died the year before he entered Congress, but Adams' character impressed him as few others did, and he was almost as familiar with his career as with the alphabet.

Deference to age was a marked trait. The loneliness of old persons, even in the most favored surroundings, appealed to him, and the sight of age coupled with want caused him a pang equalled

only by the spectacle of a mind in ruins. He felt keen sympathy with those in sorrow, and knew intuitively how best to express it. It was his custom to take note of anniversaries. April 19th, June 17th, and such dates were always observed in some way, and the attention of young people was directed to them.

In his youth he had committed to memory a great deal of poetry, and this he retained in large measure to the last, while he regularly added to his stock from the good things that appeared from time to time. As he lay awake at night he would repeat page after page from *Paradise Lost*, and occasionally some fragment that he had learned fifty or sixty years before but had long since forgotten would come floating into his consciousness to be greeted with manifest joy. Next to Shakespeare and Milton among English speaking poets he loved Tennyson and Burns, but some fifteen years before his death he became interested in the poetry of Robert Browning, from which he derived great pleasure. There was a certain strength, a tone of courage and cheer, about much of Browning's verse that touched in him a responsive chord.

He had a peculiar regard for books. They seemed almost to possess sentient life and he could not endure to see them tumbled about or handled carelessly. He took particular delight in words, and the dictionary was consulted every day, up to the last two or three days of his life.

He was fond of the theatre, although his early advantages in this line were limited. Joseph Jefferson as Rip Van Winkle he saw annually if possible, and he liked to repeat Rip's farewell to Gretchen as he departed into the storm, and also his beseeching words to his new-made friends in the mountains, "Boys, do not leave me!" The elder Sothern as Lord Dundreary, the Booths, father and son, and Fanny Kemble were favorites; likewise Edwin Forrest as King Lear, and he undoubtedly pitied the man or woman who had not heard Forrest's tones when he called on the dead Cordelia to "Stay a little!" To the end of his life he spoke with delight of Jenny Lind, whom he first heard in Boston in 1850, and of Christine Nilsson. He had not what is called a cultivated ear, his taste being for simple things, especially the Scotch ballads. His voice was melodious and he sang almost every day, sometimes a hymn that he had learned in childhood, but more often one of Burns' songs, "The Banks o' Doon", "Auld Lang Syne", or "Highland Mary"; and his voice rang out with peculiar fervor to the thrilling strains of "Bannockburn".

His sense of humor was of the keenest, and his laugh was hearty and contagious. As he advanced in years people became more and more attentive to him, and he was sometimes much entertained by the superlative exertions of street-car conductors and other kind persons who evidently considered him more frail than he really was. He

was everywhere a favorite with servants, because he endeavored to make as little trouble as possible and never omitted a "Thank you" or a word of appreciation where it was due. The maid who waited upon him at breakfast was as sure of a cheery "Good morning!" as was the guest who sat at table. His tastes in the matter of food were simple in the extreme, bread and milk forming the basis of each meal. He never used tobacco, and while not pledged to total abstinence as to spirituous liquors his use of them was almost wholly medicinal. Coming of Quaker ancestry, all display of whatever sort was distasteful to him, and to be in debt was a condition he could not endure. He was peculiarly free from little eccentricities, such as characterize many old persons, a sound common sense being one of his chief endowments.

His father having died when he was too young to have really known him, he lavished a double affection upon the parent who was left to bear the burden of life alone, and his face glowed with filial pride when he spoke of her heroic struggles and sacrifices. It has been said that a man's relations to women, how he regards them and how he conducts himself towards them, are the most significant things about him. Julian was certainly fortunate in the three women who most strongly influenced his life, his mother and both wives. He had many women friends too, and corresponded for years with Lydia Maria Child

and Mrs. Rebecca Ruter Springer, wife of Congressman William M. Springer of Illinois, the pleasant interchange of letters being ended in each case only by death. He kept up the old-time custom of making social calls, both in Indianapolis and Irvington, and went several times a year to see an old German woman, living in the country, a helpless cripple for thirty years, treasuring up bits of interesting news to relate to her. There was a certain artlessness about him, coupled with an assured goodness and an ever-ready and boundless sympathy and understanding, which appealed at once to some men, but more often to the finer intuitions of women. One of these friends wrote soon after his death: "I can never forget the *culture tone* that characterized him as one met him in society and in his home,—the absolute lack of that coarseness that is so much a part of our modern politician. Without knowing his history I could as easily have said he was a poet or litterateur." His daughter's friends felt for him a genuine affection, and he was seldom too absorbed in any task to stop and chat with them.

With his tall figure, which attracted attention wherever he went, there was a remarkable dignity of mien, and also a frankness of manner that, as was said of Uncle Toby, "Let you at once into his soul." Like Uncle Toby too, there was something about him, at least in later life, that seemed to make a special appeal to the unfortunate and unhappy; they felt instinctively his friendly

spirit. He had little patience with vain shallow people and when they endeavored to talk with him it was apt to be a very one-sided affair, consisting on his part largely of monosyllables and grunts. But he always sought to introduce worthier themes than the ordinary chit-chat, and often read to a caller an extract from the book he was perusing or something timely from a magazine or newspaper. There was, it is true, a reserve about him that made him appear austere and unapproachable sometimes to those who did not really know him. This was chiefly due to that native shyness that he always struggled to overcome but which was in fact one of his most attractive qualities. There is no doubt that he continued to learn and to grow to the day of his death.

From the foregoing personal sketch it must be clear that here was a man worth knowing, a man whose life, apart from any public or political significance, was a distinct asset to the community, an incentive to higher things, and an unmistakable proof that humanity's march is onward. Moreover, so tireless and irrepressible a spirit is itself the prophecy of its own continuation and development, and therefore another proof of immortality.

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